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A *v. S. P. 1827*

VINDICATION

OF THE

CHARACTER

OF

THE PIOUS AND LEARNED

BISHOP BULL,

FROM THE

UNQUALIFIED ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST IT,

BY THE

ARCHDEACON OF ELY,

IN HIS CHARGE DELIVERED IN THE YEAR 1826.

BY THE
REV. CHARLES DAUBENY, LL.D.

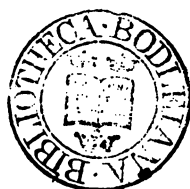
ARCHDEACON OF SARUM.

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1827.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

University of Oxford.

As that *great Theologian*, Bishop Bull, received, in his time, from the University of Oxford, the greatest honours which that learned body had to bestow, I was in hopes that some abler advocate than myself would, ere this, have undertaken the vindication of Bishop Bull's character from the gross misrepresentation of it by the present Archdeacon of Ely. Disappointed in that hope, I have myself ventured upon the task ; trusting that my endeavour, however imperfect, will be received as a tribute of

respect and gratitude due to the memory of
that great man, from one who had once the
honour of being a member, and still continues to be,

a most devoted
and sincerely attached friend,
of the

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

TO THE READER.

WHEN the Charge of the Archdeacon of Ely was first introduced to my notice, I considered that the respectable station of its author entitled it to something more than common attention. That attention having been paid, which the importance of its contents appeared to demand, it occurred to me that some few observations on the prominent features of the Charge in question, might not, in the present state of our Church, be ill-timed : and more especially so, as some particular parts of the Archdeacon's publication appeared to bear hard upon the character of a Bishop, to whom the sound Clergy of the Church of England have long been in the habit of looking up with a mixture of gratitude and respect.

Whilst, then, I presume not to write for those who are before me in the road of theological attainments, yet to such who may be in a condition to glean something from an humble instrument, should God be pleased to bless his endeavours for their service, I may be permitted to address myself.

Old divinity is, in some respect, like old wine; the *new* not being to be compared with it, although some palates may become so unhappily vitiated, as to be unable to relish either. But Jesus Christ being "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," his doctrine must necessarily be *unchangeable*; whilst the Protestant knows no other standard for that doctrine, but his Bible. Shades of difference in opinion there may be, and, perhaps, always will be, between men of different dispositions, and who have been accustomed to view things through different mediums; but between those who profess to hold the faith as it was once delivered to the saints, there cannot, because there ought not to exist any contradiction of sentiment. The subject brought before the reader in the following

pages is of considerable importance ; because some of the essentials of Christianity are connected with it. Those essentials, which it has been the object of the grand deceiver of mankind, from time to time, so to oppose and perplex, as to render them, in a great measure, unavailing to their graciously intended purpose. The doctrines here alluded to, are those which have been made, more or less, the subject of unhappy dispute, from the days of our Reformers to the present times. And, although it must be acknowledged, that there never have been wanting among us zealous and able defenders of the " faith, as it is in Christ Jesus," still, it is to be lamented, and it is to be feared, with too much truth, that there is wanting that professional *esprit de corps*, (if it may be so called,) which can alone enable the younger Clergy to profit, as they might, from the information, with which our excellent Church is so abundantly furnished.

The reader must not, therefore, expect to find any thing new in the following pages ; the object of their writer being chiefly to collect to

a focus, the scattered rays of light to be found in established writings ; for the purpose of making the stronger impression upon those organs of vision, which have not, perhaps, been particularly directed to the objects contained in them. With however supercilious an eye then, those of deeper learning and more extensive research may look down upon this feeble attempt to confirm, what the writer considers to be the established doctrine of the Christian Church on those points brought under consideration ; every serious Christian will, it is hoped, receive this humble offering of service ; not less pleased with it, because, in many parts, it presents him with little else than the fruits of other men's labours ; remembering the indulgence granted to the Levites under the old dispensation ; that what they had gathered from others, " was reckoned unto them ; as though it had been the corn of their own threshing-floor, and as the fullness of their own press."

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

It affords one of the strongest proofs of the corruption of man's nature, that truth, though originally revealed from on high for his direction in the way to happiness, has never been able to preserve an uninterrupted abode upon earth. Whilst at the same time there cannot be a more unequivocal evidence of the never-ceasing agency of that grand DECEIVER; whose object from the beginning it has been, to counterwork the benevolent design of a gracious Creator in behalf of his favoured creature, than by continually leading man, more or less, into error, upon the subject of his most important concern, the attainment of eternal bliss.

It should seem, indeed, as if Christians of the present day were living in perilous times somewhat similar to those, heretofore, alluded to by the Apostle; when certain teachers, having "the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof," are leading captive silly Christians, "ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." Surely it might have been hoped, that when the truth, "as it is in

Christ Jesus," had been established upon firm ground, through the right interpretation of the sacred word, by such Divines as Bull, Jackson, Hickes, and Waterland, names standing high in the annals of the Church of England, to mention no other, it would not have been again placed upon the shifting quicksands of those irregular nonconformist teachers, who disgraced this country at a former period of its history; when the faith, as delivered by the Apostles, became enveloped in such a cloud of mystical theory, and strained metaphysical subtleties, as almost to put it beyond the reach of a plain understanding to determine precisely, what truth was, or where it might be found.

The Church of England, we lament to say, instead of going on to perfection, seems, from some present appearances at least, to be travelling back to the spurious divinity of the 17th century; when a mutilated sketch of the Gospel system, under the imposing title of Evangelical preaching, too often supplies the place of a right division of the word of truth in our pulpits; whilst rhapsodical preachers, like travelling empiricks, full of themselves, are drawing congregations after them, in defiance of ecclesiastical discipline, and to the propagation of the worst kind of schism; that of dividing the Church against herself, for the temporary gratification of unsteady Christians with itching ears, who

have unfortunately acquired the dangerous habit of mistaking *words* for *things*. Hence it has happened that many well-meaning, and who might have been well-principled Christians, had they continued in the regular course marked out to them by the Church of which they profess to be members, have suffered themselves, under the self-confident persuasion of superior sanctification, to be drawn away from the sober and rational religion of their forefathers into certain imaginary theories, not less indescribable to others, than they are unintelligible to themselves. And hence it is, that a set of hackneyed undefined phrases, being made to pass for the true Evangelical doctrine, we are in danger of falling into that state of spiritual intoxication, from which the grand Deceiver reaped such an abundant harvest, in those unhappy days, to which we have above alluded.

I have been led into the preceding reflections by a publication which has lately fallen into my hands, under the title of "A Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely." At the same time I consider it due to myself to declare, that the preceding reflections are not intended to have a bearing on the Archdeacon himself; considering that I have not before me sufficient evidence to determine fully my judgment with respect to the professional character of that gentleman. The Archdeacon, doubtless, may be, and I have no ground

for thinking that he is not, a pious, conscientious minister. Still he may be a *mistaken* man; and in some points, to my mind, of no trifling importance. Had they not been seen in that light, the reader would not have been troubled with the following pages. My object, however, on the present occasion is to point out to notice that equivocal and *unguarded* language, which to me appears calculated to lead to conclusions, which possibly the Archdeacon may reprobate equally with myself.

It is possible indeed that the Archdeacon and myself may differ more in expressions than we do in essentials. I trust it may be so. At the same time, it is submitted to consideration, whether, from a due want of attention to *guarded* language in subjects of nice discrimination, we may not, however correct our own ideas may be, prove instrumental in leading others into error. For as heresy oft-times derives its origin from a misapplication of words, or ambiguity of language, *guarded* expressions and *well defined* meanings become essentially requisite to the proper handling of religious subjects, particularly those of an abstruse nature. In this respect, the Archdeacon of Ely, should he not be misunderstood, appears to me to be wanting. Whilst to prevent him, so far at least as my endeavours may conduce to that end, from leading others into what appears to me to be error, I

have ventured to make some passing remarks upon his Charge ; which, though confessedly well written, so far as style is concerned, does not, to my mind at least, place the plan of the Evangelical Covenant in a correct point of view before his readers.—But this is not the only, nor the principal object I had in view, when taking up my pen ; but a vindication of the character of that great Divine, to whom the Church of England has been much indebted ; a character, which has been so grossly, though I am ready to hope *unintentionally*, misrepresented by the Archdeacon in question. Which misrepresentation is not, as the subject strikes me, to be accounted for but upon one or other of these two principles : either the Archdeacon had not read the Bishop's writings with that attention and discrimination, to which, from their importance, they are justly entitled ; or that he had not read them at all. On this latter ground charity feels disposed to place the Archdeacon ; rather than that, with the Bishop's writings before him, he should be supposed capable of so grossly misrepresenting the Author of them, as he has done. But on this ground, a respect for the Archdeacon's character will not allow me to place him ; upon the former, therefore, I think he must be allowed to take his stand : and in placing him upon that ground, I trust I shall not be thought to have done him injustice ; since the

Archdeacon himself allows, that he has only *cursorily* read through some parts of the Bishop's works. Whilst any one acquainted with the general scope and tenor of Bishop Bull's writings, and who at the same time considers the particular object the Bishop had in view in writing, together with the length of time he took in digesting the important work upon which the Archdeacon has so freely commented, will be apt to say, that of all the English Divines who have committed themselves on the corruptions of the Church of Rome, Bishop Bull is one of the last to whom the title of ROMANIST, (in the sense in which it is made use of by the Archdeacon,) can with justice be applied. This position, from an induction of particulars, it will be my business, in the following pages, to demonstrate.

Now as scarce any writings at their first publication were ever subjected to so severe an ordeal as those of Bishop Bull; and as the sterling quality of them has now been so long admitted by our most eminent Divines; it is a circumstance that cannot fail to excite surprize, that in the nineteenth century, when it might have been hoped that the science of Divinity had attained to its most perfect standard, such long established writings should be found wanting in the balance.—Considering myself then, as I long have done, a pupil, though a very unworthy one,

of this great master in Israel, his writings having been more or less before me, during a long course of years, I must confess, I felt myself not more surprized than mortified, in hearing his character so unjustly dealt by. At the same time then that I should think it a disgrace to the Church of England, were not such a Bishop to find an advocate among her Clergy, I should still feel gratified had an abler pen taken up this cause. I have patiently waited in the hope that some one better qualified than myself would have undertaken it ; but I have waited in vain. At the same time I cannot but think, that the honour of the Church of England, together with the credit of our *first* Reformers, imperiously demand, that such an attack upon the principles of our establishment ought not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. Although an endeavour to vindicate the character of such a Divine as Bishop Bull may probably, by most readers, be regarded as an useless undertaking, and, possibly, subject to the charge of confident presumption, the writer who attempts it. Whilst, then, I cannot promise my reader that he will find any thing new in my pages, for what of novelty can be expected on a subject which has been worn threadbare ? yet provided he will give me credit for an honest zeal for the credit of our Church, and a profound veneration for the character of Bishop Bull, I shall rest perfectly satisfied with

the reflection, that if I have not done the best that might have been done in the present case, I have still done the best that it was in my power to do; remembering, what for our comfort we have been given to understand, that the gracious Being whom we serve accepteth, according to what a man hath, not according to what he hath not.

CHAPTER I.

THE first idea that presented itself to my mind upon reading the Archdeacon's Charge was, that the Clergy of his Archdeaconry must, as Divines, be in a very low state, to require such a lengthened exposition of the first rudiments of Christianity to be brought before them. Unwilling, however, to entertain an idea that might be considered disrespectful to the Clergy in question, upon second consideration I found that the Charge under notice was introductory to other matter, which, it should seem, has long been working in the Archdeacon's mind, and was meant to serve as a PIN, on which the Archdeacon's long-harboured objections to the writings and character of Bishop Bull were intended to be hung. Every author, it will be readily admitted, on coming before the public, has an undoubted right to choose his own ground; because every honest man is supposed to write as he thinks. At the same time every author must be aware that what he writes becomes a fit subject for fair and candid examination.

Before, however, I enter upon the principal subject of the Archdeacon's unqualified censure of Bishop Bull, it is but right that attention should be paid to what the Archdeacon says for himself. And though I presume not, *pleno ore*, to characterise the Archdeacon of Ely, as a decided, and what is commonly known by the title of a *high Calvinist*; still I am inclined to think that no competent Divine will go through his Charge with attention, without discovering a strong taint of the Calvinian Heresy, more or less, pervading the whole of it. The first striking proof which presents itself in confirmation of the above opinion, is to be found in page 9, in which the Archdeacon writes thus:—"Of those who have been admitted into the Christian Church by baptism, we have deep cause to lament, that too many are Christians only in name; destitute perhaps even of the *form*, still more of the power of godliness; and as to all practical purposes, 'without hope and without God in the world.'"—This appears to me to be Calvinism without disguise. For it proceeds upon the principle lately assumed by certain Divines, that by far the greater majority of infants grow up in an *unregenerate* state, because it was not intended by God that they should be regenerated in Baptism. This appears to me to be cutting the knot with a vengeance; by making the Deity responsible for the effects of

man's fallen nature. We are not consequently surprized to find this idea, so repugnant to the nature of the *baptismal sacrament*, originating with the celebrated Calvin; it being precisely in accord with his *unscriptural* system.

Most heresies derive their origin from the overweening persuasions of self-confident men; who, whilst distinguished, perhaps, by exemplary piety, and other valuable attainments, suffer themselves to be carried away by some favourite *hypothesis*, which makes them conceive of things, not as they really are, but as they would have them to be; and to assent to, or dissent from, a proposition, not as sound reason would direct, but as the *hypothesis* in question commands them to do. It is a prevailing attachment to some preconceived system that produces in many cases such powerful influence, that in hearing we do not hear and understand, and in seeing we do not see and perceive; whilst we are looking about for little distinctions and pitiful evasions, whereby to elude the plain evidence of unsophisticated truth.

To give the Archdeacon credit but for a moderate portion of discrimination, it might be concluded that he could not fail to distinguish between an infant's being regenerated to *final* and *effectual* purpose, and his not being regenerated at all; to his being actually admitted by his spiritual birth in Baptism into the

Covenant of Grace, and his being "without hope and without God in the world." The Christian Dispensation has been considered as an improvement upon, or a more perfect edition of the Jewish. The proselyte on his Baptism, was regarded as having received another spirit or soul, whereby he became another man. On this account Baptism was called among them *Regeneration*, and a *new birth*. And the New Testament, being full of allusions to these notions, proves that the expressions, *being born again, putting off the old man, becoming new creatures*, and the like, were fully understood at the time, and spiritually received. But if the infant which has been made a member of the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism, can properly be said to be "without hope and without God in the world," and to be destitute of the "very form of Christianity," the Grace of God under the Christian Dispensation seems rather to have made a retrograde movement, than to be going on to perfection. What the Archdeacon says indeed of persons admitted into the Church by Baptism, "that too many are Christians only in name, and destitute of the power of godliness, and consequently without hope and without God in the world," is, we lament to say, but too true. But that such persons, if baptized by one of God's appointed ministers, were destitute of the form of Baptism, is certainly not true. The

present unregenerate condition of the baptized persons proves, not that they have never received spiritual Regeneration in Baptism, but that such Grace of the Holy Spirit, originally conveyed to them at Baptism, had not been carried on to perfection. In like manner, to take our reasoning from analogy, good seed may be sown in the ground, which, for want of subsequent care and cultivation, may never arrive at fruitful produce.

By virtue of the divine Covenant, we are distinguished by the title of God's adopted children; "and if children, then heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ;" God, by the Evangelical constitution, having been pleased to receive believers by Baptism into a filial relation. Where indeed there is not a cordial consent and subjection to the terms of the Covenant, visible profession, and the receiving the external seals of it, will be of no advantage. But however this important consideration concerns persons arrived at a state of responsibility, it cannot, it is presumed, be supposed to affect the condition of those, who are but *passive* recipients of the free grace of God. And be their subsequent condition in life what it may, though it may render void their future hopes, still it cannot abrogate the original nature and design of the Sacrament in question. Such is the decided judgment of our Church.

We are indeed aware of what has been ad-

vanced, and with some shew of reason, upon this important subject ; but still, when it is considered that the Sacrament of Baptism was a divine institution for the benefit of fallen man, our judgment upon it should be formed from the gracious intention of the *divine Institutor*, rather than from the corruption which a degenerate state of Christianity has been instrumental in introducing into the *Institution* itself. For to take this subject upon higher ground—That divine Being, to whom all things are present, who, we are told, “ seeth the end from the beginning,” clearly saw what would be the effect of Adam’s trial ; and, out of the plenitude of his love, prepared a remedy to meet the fatal event. The death of his incarnate Son was the stipulated condition of God’s reconciliation to fallen man. As the lamb devoted to this gracious purpose, He was slain, at least in contemplation and effect, before the foundation of the world. His blood (of which the bloody sacrifices during the several periods of the Church were but types) was the blood of the new Covenant entered into by the three Persons in the Godhead, for the gracious purpose of redeeming fallen man from the malice of Satan, and restoring him, upon certain conditions suited to his actual state, to his lost immortality. As it has been described by one of the early writers of the Church, “ God the Father accepting, God the Son,”

offering himself as the propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and God the Holy Ghost undertaking the important work of renewing the fallen nature of man, and bringing it, by his sanctifying influence, into a fit condition to be admitted into God's presence in glory : since, without holiness, we have been plainly told, " no man can see the Lord." Of this gracious Covenant the Sacraments of the Church, are, as St. Austin calls them, the *Verba visibilia*, or the pledges on God's part for the fulfilment of his sacred engagement, in conformity with the wonderful dispensation of the Gospel. Now it is expressly declared in Sacred Writ, that the God of Love, as He is significantly called by the Apostle, " is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance and live." Whilst it is not to be doubted, that an omnipotent God can never want the power to carry his will into complete effect—it follows then that the Sacraments of the Church, being of *divine* institution, must, so far as God is concerned in them, be fully available to the end for which they were originally ordained. In the case of infants, not arrived at the knowledge of good and evil, there can be no impediment thrown in the way of the Sacrament to which they are admitted; they are upon the stipulation of their sponsors, which the Church construes literally in their favour, admitted to the benefits intended to be conveyed by it; and *ipso*.

facto made partakers of spiritual regeneration ; in consequence of their being born of water and of the Spirit by Baptism, the divinely appointed means of conveying such spiritual benefit to them. Such was the doctrine of the primitive Church on this subject, which might be proved by an induction of proofs. But I abstain from detail, that I may trespass as little as may be on my readers.

It will be sufficient for my present purpose, in immediate reference to the Archdeacon's Charge, to observe, that if there can be meaning in words, such is unquestionably the doctrine of the Church of England. The Church of England in her formulary says expressly by the mouth of her minister, after the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, that the baptized child *is regenerate*, and thereby admitted, for the time being, into a state of salvation ; she therefore hesitates not in a subjoined paragraph to speak thus decidedly upon this important point. " It is certainly God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved."—In strict accordance with the language of the Homily, which says, " that infants, being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by His sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, made His children and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven."

What may be the condition of this baptized child at any future stage of life, is not the point at issue. We are now speaking simply of the spiritual advantage derived to the child by Baptism. Admitting that the Sacrament in question be *rightly* administered, no baptized child can be "*destitute of the form*;" for that must depend upon the *commission* of the administrator, and the proper administration of the Sacrament. Whilst our Church's definition of a Sacrament is, that it is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." In the case of the baptized child then, to whom no *spiritual grace* is supposed to be conveyed, the Sacrament becomes a mere nullity. But the Sacrament of Baptism, being the divine appointment of admission into the Christian Covenant, cannot fail in the case of baptized infants to be accompanied with the intended effect; for the infant, being by Baptism regularly admitted into the Christian Covenant, becomes thereby entitled to the privileges of it; one of the most important of which is, that the baptized person has it in his power to recover his lost ground, by being renewed through the Spirit unto repentance, from time to time, and enabled, by the continuing influence of the same Spirit, to proceed in his Christian course, till arriving at the fullness of stature

in Jesus Christ, he becomes meet to be “ a partaker with the saints in light.”

Were proofs necessary to establish the preceding doctrine of our Church, abundant might be produced. But not to tire my reader, I confine myself to one only, but that which cannot fail to have weight with every sound member of our Church; since it is grounded upon the authority of him, who had a principal hand in laying down the platform of our Reformed Ecclesiastical system.—In a comparison drawn between the two Sacraments of our Church, Cranmer writes thus: “ Conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like to our conversion in Baptism; where outwardly nothing is changed, but all the alteration is inwardly and invisibly. ‘ If thou wilt know,’ saith Eusebius Emissenus, ‘ how it ought not to seem to thee a new thing, and impossible that earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, look upon thyself, which art made new in Baptism, when thou wast far from life, and banished as a stranger from mercy and from the way of salvation, and inwardly wast dead, and suddenly thou beganst another life in Christ, and wert made new by wholesome mysteries, and wast turned into the body of the Church, not by seeing, but by believing; and of the child of damnation, by a secret pureness thou wast made the chosen Son

of God. Thou visibly didst remain in the same measure that thou hadst before, but invisibly thou wast made greater, without any increase of thy body. Thou wert the self-same person, and yet by increase of faith thou wast made another man. Outwardly nothing was added, but all the change was inwardly. And so was man made the Son of Christ, and Christ formed in the mind of man.'"

I have dwelt longer upon this subject than might have been necessary, had not my object been to counteract, in some degree at least, that heretical doctrine, under the title of the *New Regeneration* System, which, under the sanction of some respectable Divines, is at this time pushing its way into the Church of England. At the same time there are to be found Divines of our Church equally respectable, though better informed, who, I trust, will at all times be on the alert to prevent its admission. But this *novel* doctrine having been lately fully canvassed, and not constituting any material part of the object before me, it would be to trespass upon my reader, were I to enter upon any more lengthened detail upon it.

CHAPTER II.

OF all the points in Theology which have from time to time employed the pens of Christian Divines, perhaps not one has been more thoroughly canvassed than that which relates to the controverted doctrine of *Faith and Works*, in their respective relation to the justification of fallen man. But as little either of novel or interesting matter is to be expected upon such an exhausted subject, some apology may be necessary from a writer, who ventures, at this time of day, to draw the attention of his readers to what he may have to say upon it. It were to be wished, indeed, that all those subtle disputations and verbal distinctions, chiefly employed in the support of favourite systems, and which tended more to the decrease of charity and increase of schism, than to the elucidation of truth, had been suffered to sleep with the other disgraceful things of the 17th century. But it should seem as if we were not doomed, in this respect at least, to grow wise by experience. The Archdeacon of Ely appears to have taken us back to those

unhappy times, when this important doctrine of *Salvation by Grace*, (a doctrine sufficiently plain in itself, were the writers upon it disposed to understand each other,) was made the subject of jesuitical cavil and verbal strife. In consequence of the unfortunate *Marian* persecution, a portion of the Calvinistic leaven was imported into this country; which, though not indigenous to the soil, took, notwithstanding, such deep root in it, as never since to have been completely eradicated. For my reader, it is presumed, is not to be informed, that the Archdeacon's edition of the eleventh article,—containing this position, “that we are justified by faith only, *to the entire exclusion of works* ;” a position which our Reformers never dreamt of;—constitutes one of the five points of Calvinism; and hence it is that the eleventh article has been pressed into the service of that heterodox system. For the idea here brought forward by the Archdeacon being at no time expressed by our Reformers, was certainly by them never meant to be propagated as a part of the Protestant Creed. It is an idea indeed which, if ever proper to be promulgated, ought never to be suffered to constitute an insulated position, unaccompanied with some qualified interpretation, calculated to guard against its otherwise most probable abuse. But to proceed; the Archdeacon opens his case by shewing, what no

sound member of the Church, it is presumed, will deny, "that man is not justified by works alone:" a position, which it might be hoped, it had been perfectly needless to have introduced. The Archdeacon then proceeds to point out the absurdity of an "association of works with faith in the office of justification;" an absurdity, which, however it may bear upon the Church of Rome, is, by all sound members of the Church, equally reprobated. The Archdeacon then carries us on to the case of the judaizing converts to Christianity, who were first guilty of the absurd attempt of mixing up the law of works with the Covenant of Grace. This error, so natural to the pride of fallen man, was one of the first which was sown with God's wheat in the field of the primitive Church, which St. Paul took so much pains to confute and eradicate, by the following close reasoning, "*ad homines*," in his Epistle to the Romans. "If by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then is it no more grace, otherwise work is no more work." xi. 6. "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness." iv. 4, 5.

Such was the unanswerable reasoning opposed to the first judaizing attempt of confound-

ing the legal with the evangelical Dispensation. And this close reasoning will apply with equal force to the Church of Rome; because that Church has long been in the habit of mixing up the merits of canonized saints with those of a crucified Saviour, as together constituting their mixed ground of justification. But it cannot apply to the Church of England, because she gives no countenance to such an erroneous principle; however it may apply individually to those mistaken members of her communion, should any such there be, who are weak enough to imagine, that any good works, which they may perform, can secure to them a claim of right or *merit* to an eternal reward. But let the article in question speak for itself. The eleventh article runs thus: "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Therefore, that we are justified by faith *only*, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification." We stop for a moment to observe, in the face of the Archdeacon's incorrect edition of the eleventh article, that our Reformers were not perfectly borne out by the Apostle in the language made use of in the article under consideration. The language of the Apostle being literally as follows: "Therefore we conclude that

a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Rom. iii. 28. A passage which must be considered as addressed particularly to converted Jews. We proceed. Scarcely any words could be made use of better calculated to convey the meaning of our venerable Reformers upon this important subject than those which have been here employed. Two different modes of justification are pointed out to notice in the article under consideration; one by the merits of Christ, the other by the works and deservings of man. By the *former* we are told, we can alone be justified, whilst we are as plainly told, that by the *latter* we cannot. Now it appears of importance to ascertain the meaning in which the word *works*, made use of in this article, was meant to be received. To ascertain which essential point, nothing appears necessary but a reference to the times in which the words were written, together with the object the Reformers had in view in writing them. The article, to which we are now referring, was composed, as it is well known, at the time when the corrupt doctrine of human merit, if not in opposition to, at least in derogation from, the all-sufficient merits of a crucified Saviour, constituted one of the most prominent among the many corrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome. Indeed, as the reader of ecclesiastical history well knows, the general prevalence which the insatiable ava-

rice of Rome had given to this corrupt but lucrative doctrine, was one of the chief causes to which the Reformation owed its origin. And though our Reformers were not the first who took the field in defence of primitive Christianity, yet were they not among the least zealous in maintaining its sinking cause. In forming their articles, therefore, for the correct establishment of the Church of England, their thoughts were chiefly occupied with the corruptions of that Church, from whose communion they had felt themselves obliged to depart. By the works or deservings there-fore mentioned in their eleventh article, were principally meant to be understood those human works and deservings, which had long been made the gainful traffic in the Church of Rome; and *virtually* all human works of a similar kind, which, in any way, encroached upon the all-sufficiency of those merits, to which fallen man stands indebted for justification. Had not, therefore, the Archdeacon of Ely written somewhat faster than he read, he would not have inserted that *interpolation* of his own devising into the eleventh article; which tends more, as I conceive, to keep out of sight, than to explain, the sense in which the language of our Reformers, on this occasion, was meant to be taken. If the only object, which the Archdeacon must be supposed to have had in view,

was to leave the meaning of the Reformers upon this important subject impressed on his hearers, should he not have suffered the language of our Reformers to speak for itself? or, on the supposition of its not being sufficiently intelligible, should he not have referred them, as the article has done, to a more detailed comment on their meaning, as it is to be found in the Homilies? Had this mode of explanation been adopted, his hearers must have found, that the "*works and deservings*" mentioned in the article, had nothing to do with those *evangelical* works of righteousness under the new covenant, which are expected to be found in every redeemed sinner; not indeed as the *meritorious* cause of his justification, but that *sine quâ non*, without which, according to the conditions of the new covenant, no Christian professor must expect to be completely and finally justified. So that the faith, or rather the merits of Christ, by which alone fallen man is justified, or accounted righteous in the sight of God, did not, in the judgment of our Reformers, *exclude* good works; because they say, "we are most bounden to do good works commended by God in his holy Scriptures; but it *so* excludes them, that we may not do them to this intent, to be made just by doing them." And for the following evident reason, because "all the good works that we can do be imperfect, and, therefore, not able to

deserve our justification; but our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God."—

Homily on Salvation.—Upon this important point, it might be hoped there could be no room for controversy among Christian believers. For, by a reference to the third part of the Homily on "*Good Works*," which, it is to be well observed, was added in the year 1562, for the express purpose of counteracting the error of the Antinomians and Solifidians of the day, who had so grossly abused the doctrine of Justification by *faith alone*, the Christian reader must be left without a doubt with respect to the nature of those *good works*, against which the language of the eleventh article was principally directed. Let our Reformers then speak for themselves. The Homily in question begins thus:—"That all men might *rightly judge of good works*, it hath been declared in the second part of this sermon, *what kind of good works* they be that God would have his people to walk in; namely, such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not such works as men have studied out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the word of God. And by *mistaking the nature of good works*, man hath most highly displeased God, and hath gone from his will and commandments. So that you have heard how much the world from the beginning till Christ's time was ever ready to fall from the

commandments of God, and to seek other means to honour and serve him, after a devotion found out of their own heads ; and how they did set up their own traditions, so high as above God's commandments ; which hath happened also *in our times*, (the more it is to be lamented) no less than it did among the Jews ; and that by the corruption, or at least by the negligence of them that chiefly ought to have preserved the pure and heavenly doctrine left by Christ. What man having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see, and lament to have entered into Christ's religion such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart ? What sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion (as they arrogantly named it) that their lamps (as they said) ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers and sisters of religion, as most ungodly, and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people, keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of *merits*, being full of holy reliques, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance ready to be sold."

The reader has been troubled with the preced-

ing long extract from the Homilies, for the purpose of vindicating the character of our Reformers, from the charge inadvertently brought against them by the Archdeacon, of intending to exclude good works of every description from the grace of man's justification. For on appeal to the Homily pointed out by the Reformers themselves, as explanatory of the meaning of the article in question, it is proved to demonstration, (what a moderate share of discrimination might, it is presumed, be sufficient to determine,) to what species of works the attention of our Reformers must have been directed, since they had unequivocally declared, that so far from good works, in the Evangelical sense of the word, being *excluded from*, that they must necessarily be *included in* the character of every justified person. For in the Homily referred to, two different sorts of good works (as they are called) are clearly put in contrast with each other, namely, those good works that "God would have his people to walk in, namely, such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scriptures, but not such works as men have studied out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the word of God; through the leaven of which false doctrine, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart." It follows then, according to the true meaning of our Reformers, that man is not justified by Faith

alone "*to the entire exclusion of good works*;" but that the question is, to what sort of works the exclusion ought to extend. For on appeal to the Homily "of the Salvation of Mankind," after having, in the first part of it, referred to those *works of the law*, by which, as St. Paul told the Galatians, no man could be justified, the Reformers proceed in the second part of this Homily, thus to explain their meaning more at large upon this critical point: "Nevertheless, (say they,) this sentence, that we be justified by faith *only*, is not so meant of them, that the said justifying faith is *alone* in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread and the fear of God, at any time and season. Nor when they say that we be justified freely, they mean not that we should or ought afterwards to be idle, &c. neither mean they that we are so to be justified *without good works*, that we should do no good works at all. But this saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to *deserve* our justification at God's hand, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man and the goodness of God, the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfection of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ; and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto

Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding."

Any attempt to place the intended meaning of the eleventh article in a clearer light than it has been above placed by our Reformers, might be considered to be not less a waste of words, than a trespass on the time of the reader ; since the discriminating language, made use of in the Homilies referred to, clearly proves, that whilst our Reformers unreservedly reprobated the superstitious works of the Church of Rome, and all works of similar pretensions, it was not, nevertheless, their intent to discourage good works, properly so called, but only *duly to appreciate* them, by expressly guarding against their encroaching upon, or in the least derogating from the merits and atonement of a crucified Redeemer, as the only meritorious cause of man's justification. Had their object been different, they must have had their favourite St. Paul himself for their opponent : who reminded his disciple Timothy, that the Scripture was given by inspiration of God, for the express purpose of conveying to the Christian professor "*instruction in righteousness*, that the man of God," of course the justified person, "*might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*" 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

Whilst it is submitted to consideration, whether the circumstance of so much pains being

taken by our Reformers to guard against that grossly perverted meaning, to which the well intended but incautious expression of "*by faith only*" has unhappily been made subservient, does not justify the conclusion, that such was by no means the sense in which the article in question was designed to be taken. For thus, in reference to the gross abuse of the true saving doctrine of faith in the merits of Christ alone, the Reformers deemed it expedient to enter their *caveat*. "Although," say they, "this doctrine be never so true, (as it is most true,) that we be justified freely, without all *merit* of our good works, (as St. Paul doth express it,) and freely by this living and perfect faith in Christ only, (as the ancient Fathers used to speak it,) yet this true doctrine must also be *truly understood*, and *most plainly declared*, lest carnal men should unjustly take occasion thereby to live carnally after the appetite and will of the world, the flesh and the devil. And because no man should err by mistaking of this doctrine, I will plainly and shortly so declare the right understanding of the same, that no man shall justly think that he may thereby take any occasion of carnal liberty to follow the desires of the flesh, so that thereby any kind of sin shall be committed, or any ungodly living be the more used." *Homily on Salvation*.

But, however willing I may be to give the

Archdeacon full credit for the interest which he takes in the honour of the Great Redeemer, (a zeal which ought to constitute a prominent feature in the character of every true son of the Church,) and even allowing that he may himself truly understand the saving doctrine of the cross, still I have no doubt in my mind, that in the judgment of our Reformers, he would not have been allowed to have *plainly declared* it. Since the *unguarded* tenor of his language has not failed to lead, at different times, to those revolting excesses in the moral habits of Christian professors, which they so loudly reprobated; a full specimen of which was exhibited by the Puritans, in the seventeenth century; when professing saints, with Bibles in their hands and treason in their hearts, hesitated not, under the sacred garb of religion, to murder their king, and turn their country into an *aceldama*. A specimen of similar depraved morality is still exhibited, though, thank God, on a minor scale, in every parish, in proportion as self-elected saints possess the land, and the Calvinistic doctrine of *absolute unconditional* salvation is found to prevail.—Should it be necessary to prove; after what has been already said, that the Archdeacon has not *plainly declared* the doctrine of our Reformers, it might be sufficient to observe, (to take no notice of the incorrectness of the expression, that we are “*justified by faith only* ;”

since, literally speaking, man is not justified but by the sole merits of a crucified Saviour; faith being no more than the instrument of application, or the medium of conveyance of the merits in question to the party concerned in them,) or, because faith is the first principle of that communion between the believer's soul and the divine Spirit, on which the whole of the spiritual life depends; I say, it might be sufficient to observe, that when the eleventh article says, that "we are justified by faith only," it does not mean to say, that all good works are to be thereby excluded from being necessary conditions of justification, but such works only as are done, trusting in our own works and deservings. The article does not merely say, that "we are justified by faith only," but explains the sense in which it means to be understood, by saying, in the opening of the article, "that we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our works and deservings." This is what the shrewd Lesly would have called the "*jugulum causæ*;" for it places the doctrine of our Church upon that firm ground, upon which it must stand secure so long as the Bible itself stands. At the same time, it is a satisfaction to find, that it is confirmed by the judgment of one of the most discriminating heads which our Church has to boast, as the reader will be con-

vinced by a perusal of the following extract. "Summam rei paucis complectar; cum veteres Protestantes docuerunt, *solâ nos fide justificari*, illud non ita intellexerunt, quasi per eam fidem *excludendæ* etiam cæteræ virtutes, cæteraque *bona opera*, tanquam ad justificationem obtinendam nullo modo necessaria, aut quasi fides plus ageret aliquid in ipso justificationis negotio, quàm cæteræ virtutes; sed propositionem istam eatennus tantùm ut veram recipi voluerunt, quantùm vox fidei denotat talem obedientiam, quæ cum *fiduciâ in meritis Jesu Christi, et meritorum nostrorum perfectâ abrenuntiatione* conjuncta est, quæque adeo *ea opera omnia excludit*, quæ cum fiduciâ et opinione meriti nostri fiunt." *Harmon. Apostol. Diss. 2.* With this extract from the "*Harmonica Apostolica*" before us, we cannot help thinking that he must have read Bishop Bull's writings *very cursorily indeed*, who has failed to discover in them, that the great object the Bishop had before him was to place the justification of fallen man on the *true evangelical* ground; by shewing that good works, proceeding from faith, and joined with faith, are a *necessary condition* required by God, to the end, that by the new Covenant, obtained and sealed by the blood of Christ, fallen man might be justified by his free and unmerited grace. At the same time that the Bishop, every where throughout the whole of his treatise, un-

equivocally renounceth all pretence to any manner of merit of our own works ; even so far as scarce to acknowledge that person for a Christian who should advance, or defend merit, properly so called : the whole of man's salvation, from first to last, being attributed by him solely to the meritorious obedience of the blessed Jesus. Should then the Archdeacon, in the preceding extract, be able to discover the least taint of that Roman error, that can justify him in affixing the title of ROMANIST to the truly respected name of Bishop Bull, he must be possessed of much stronger optics than I have to boast.

Some apology may be due to the reader for detaining him thus long on a subject which is capable of being brought within the narrowest compass ; the primary object with our Reformers confessedly being that of absolutely excluding all works of human merit from establishing any title to man's justification. This point secured, they proceeded to enforce the performance of good works under the Covenant of Grace, at the same time that they took care to appreciate their proper value.—Since the chief burden of the Archdeacon's charge against Bishop Bull rests upon this ground, it seemed necessary that this part of our subject should be clearly and distinctly stated ; that the reader, should he be equitably disposed, may see how widely the true evangelical doctrine maintained

by Bishop Bull, differs from that most pernicious error, (*perniciossissimus error*) as the Bishop calls it, of *Popish* merit.

Were, however, any thing more required to prove that it was the object of our Reformers to propagate the doctrine of sound Protestantism, not less divested of Popish error than of Calvinistic licentiousness; it may be only necessary to observe, that in laying the platform for the Church of England, they were less connected with Luther and Calvin, than with the mild and judicious Melancthon. Consequently, that by their expression, *we are justified by faith*, they meant to say, that repentance and other good works are necessary conditions of justification. Since this is positively maintained by the Augustan Confession, upon the ground of which our Articles were confessedly formed. The twentieth article of the Augustan Confession runs thus:—"Quamquam enim contritio aliqua, seu pœnitentia necessaria est, tamen sentiendum est donari nobis remissionem peccatorum, et fieri nos ex injustis justos, id est, reconciliatos seu acceptos, et filios Dei gratis, propter Christum, non propter dignitatem contritionis aut aliorum operum præcedentium aut sequentium. Sed fide hoc beneficium accipiendum est, quâ credere nos oportet, quod *propter Christum nobis* donentur remissio peccatorum et justificatio."

Upon no other principle is the doctrine of good

works, as necessary to man's justification, maintained by the Church of England; and greater injustice cannot be done to that Church, than to keep this saving doctrine out of sight, or in any degree to derogate from it. The late learned Bishop Horsley, with his known strength of mind and usual precision of language, has brought this too controversial subject into the following short compass. "The matter in dispute, (says he) is nothing more than this; in what words a proposition, in which all agree, may be best conceived. That man 'is justified by faith, without the works of the law,' was the uniform doctrine of the first Reformers. It is a far more ancient doctrine; it was the doctrine of the whole College of Apostles. It is more ancient still; it was the doctrine of the Prophets. It is older than the Prophets: it was the religion of the Patriarchs. And no one who hath the least acquaintance with the writings of the first Reformers, will impute to them more than to the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the absurd opinion, that any man leading an impenitent, wicked life, will finally, upon the mere pretence of faith, (and faith, connected with an impenitent life, must always be a mere pretence,) obtain admission into heaven."

It is indeed a subject for lamentable consideration, that in a work, in which man's eternal interests are essentially concerned, he should be

so liable to be carried into dangerous extremes. Yet when we consider the corruption which man's nature was doomed to undergo by the Fall, with his appetites and passions let loose upon him, and an artful Tempter ever at hand to take advantage of his weakened condition, we cease to be surprised at the appalling events which the History of Man, when left to himself, presents to notice. It was doubtless the intention of a beneficent Creator, that his favourite creature should be possessed of happiness. With this view Adam was placed in Paradise, as preparatory to a more permanent and perfect state; and to this end, provided with a *tree of life*, for the purpose, it is presumed, of preserving his animal functions from natural decay. This circumstance did not fail to create envy in that malicious Spirit, who had through rebellion fallen from God; and suggested to him the fatal experiment of counterworking God's gracious design. To this end a gross fallacy was employed by him, which so far prevailed, as to induce our first Parents to give credit to the word of the Tempter, in preference to that of their Creator. But this loving Creator, foreseeing the evil that would be wrought, and by which his original plan was to be destroyed, had provided for it an adequate remedy, by removing his fallen creature from under the Covenant in Paradise, by which, in consequence of the infirmity of his fallen

nature, he could no longer live, and placing him under a new Covenant, according to the mild tenor of which, he might, if not wanting to himself, still arrive at an eternal state of happiness. By a fallacy, however, equally gross, though of a somewhat different kind, the *same* Arch-Deceiver, who, we are told, is still going about seeking whom he may devour, is at this time contriving to make the second Covenant in favour of God's fallen creature equally unavailable with the first. The first Covenant had been rendered abortive by a wilful breach of its condition. Whilst with the malevolent view of turning man's medicine into the most deadly poison, this same Deceiver would feign persuade the Christian professor that the gracious Covenant, under which he has been placed, contains in it no conditions to be observed; and because man has been freed from the condition of unsinning obedience, he has been placed under a Covenant, which teaches him to look for salvation only through the merits of a crucified Redeemer; that therefore he has been discharged from all moral obligations whatever, and left to the direction of his own naturally licentious disposition. But a man must have been long practised in the art of self-deception, before he can bring himself to subscribe to a conclusion at such decided variance with all sound reasoning and even common sense. Nevertheless, under the powerful

influence of uncontrouled prejudice and passion, this has not unfrequently been the case; and, perhaps, to nothing is such an extreme of error so much to be attributed, as to the unguarded language in which the doctrine of grace has been, at times, so incautiously promulgated.—Through the perversion of the human intellect, words not unfrequently grow into things, very different from the meaning of the persons, by whom they were originally employed; till at length they settle into inveterate prejudice and habit, which time and exertion too often prove incompetent to remove. What may be the Archdeacon's real sentiments upon the divine mystery of godliness, which has been revealed in the Gospel, I take not upon me absolutely to determine; they may, for aught I know, be perfectly correct. It is far from my wish that any different conclusion should be drawn. What I am concerned with, is the *unguarded* nature of his language, which to me appears calculated to lead uninformed minds into error; it being notorious that from unguarded language and equivocal expressions much heresy has derived its origin. It is submitted to consideration, therefore, whether the whole counsel of God, in the great work of man's redemption, ought not to be more generally brought before Christian hearers; that as redeemed sinners, they may become more intimately acquainted with

the nature of that gracious Covenant, into which they have been admitted, together with the conditions which have been annexed to it. Now in those pulpits which are occupied by what by a *misnomer* are called * *Evangelical* preachers, the congregation are generally put off with a strangely *mutilated* Gospel. One prominent feature of the glorious system is constantly kept in view, whilst every other part is too often suffered to pass into comparative eclipse. I have heard of a wild preacher, the whole of whose Christian system appears to consist in *instantaneous conversion*; who makes the substance of his rhapsodical effusions concentrate in the merits and *imputed righteousness* of a crucified Saviour, to whom his hearers are constantly directed to look, and be saved; (a doctrine, it must be admitted, of essential importance, when properly understood,) at the same time that he professes to know nothing of that progressive sanctification, necessary to bring the Christian professor into a condition

* On this head we must be clearly understood. All Ministers of the Church ought, in the proper sense of the word, to be *Evangelical* preachers, otherwise they have no business in the Church. But allusion is here made to those of the Clergy, who assume to themselves, or are at least desirous of being known by the title of *Evangelical* ministers, thereby casting, at least, an indirect reflection upon those of their brethren, who are not supposed to come under that description; a reflection to which no man of a liberal mind will be desirous to give countenance.

to reap the benefit of what a loving Saviour has done for him. Whereas it should at all times be remembered, that the great work of Redemption emanated from the counsels of the three great Persons in the Godhead. It originated in the love of the Father towards a lost world ; it was carried on by the love of the Son of God offering himself a willing ransom for that world, and by becoming the meritorious cause of man's justification ; and it was perfected by the Holy Ghost undertaking the important work of *renewing* the fallen nature of man, and thereby bringing it into a condition, consistent with the divine attributes, to be admitted into the divine presence. For proof of this, we have the authority of our Saviour's own words, when he thus made answer to the enquiring Nicodemus. " Except *one* be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Which was, in other words, to say, he cannot, unless this work of the Holy Ghost has been performed upon him, unless he has been renewed unto holiness, have any covenanted title to justification. The Apostle has concentrated the Evangelical system in a manner to leave an indelible impression upon every well-disposed considerate mind. The Grace of God, (in Christ, says the Apostle,) which offereth salvation to all men, hath appeared ; and the lesson which it teacheth is, " that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we

should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world ;” and provided this important lesson has been duly learnt, we are encouraged to look for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; the end of whose giving himself for us, being, that he might “redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.” To this end, after Christ’s work for fallen man had been finished upon the Cross, his blood having been shed, as the stipulated price of man’s ransom from the captivity of Satan, the Holy Ghost undertook his important office of renewing man’s fallen nature, that he might be meet, or in a fit condition, to be made a partaker with the saints in glory. Such is the light in which our Reformers saw this important subject, when in the Baptismal Formulary, after the infant had been born anew of water and the Spirit in Baptism, the congregation are directed to pray that the baptized person should lead “the rest of his life according to that (spiritual) beginning, by daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.” These are the conditions against which the appetites and passions of mankind are, more or less, in constant rebellion. Nevertheless, such are the conditions upon which the New Covenant in Baptism, in favour of fallen man, has been made to turn. To those who have

studied in the school of Calvin, we are well aware that the term *conditions* conveys an *offensive* sound. For according to his system of divinity, man, in his fallen state, is degraded to a mere passive machine ; God is to do every thing for him, whilst man is expected to do nothing. This we do not call so much voluntary humility, as voluntary folly. Whereas, to those who see the doctrine of salvation by Christ through a different medium, the circumstance of God's bringing his fallen creature into a new state of trial under a relaxed covenant, furnishes a most striking instance of the unbounded love of God towards its professed object ; in that he not only provided a sure ground of salvation for him in his beloved Son, but, moreover, furnished him with the means, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, of performing the *qualifying conditions* upon which his salvation under the New Covenant has been suspended. To persons adopting this system of Divinity, *conditions* can constitute no obnoxious term. For thus explained, it is to be maintained, indirectly at least, by the authority of the Apostle, where he says, " Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which" *sine quâ non*, " no man shall see the Lord." Heb. xii. 14. Indeed, this doctrine of conditional salvation by the merits of a crucified Redeemer is supported by the whole tenour of *unperverted* Scripture, from begin-

ning to end. Else it may be asked, why are we directed by one Apostle to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling, in the confidence of God's working in us both to will and to do?" Wherefore are we directed by another Apostle, that by "giving all diligence, we add to our faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity? For if these be in you, and abound, they make you that you shall not be barren and unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that *lacketh these things* is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to *make your calling and election sure*; for if ye do these things ye shall never fall." 2 Pet. i. 5—10. Wherefore, it may be asked again, is the process of a future judgment continually brought before us in the sacred writings? in which we are told, that "God will render to every man according to his deeds; tribulation and anguish to every one that doeth evil; and glory, honour, and immortality, to every man that worketh good." Rom. ii. 6, 7. 9. For what purpose are the rewards and punishments of the other world described by the sacred penmen in terms and phrases significant of such joys and torments, as are calculated most sensibly

to affect us in our present state? but by analogical representation, to give us some conception, remote indeed and inadequate, sufficient, however, to excite our hopes and alarm our fears; to quicken our diligence in the great work of our salvation; and to induce us, by a suitable behaviour in this our state of trial, to prepare for that awful day, when we shall appear before the tribunal of the great Judge, to render an account of the things done in the body. Why, lastly, are we exhorted by the Apostle, on the ground of our having received the promises of God in Christ, "to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God?" 2 Cor. vii. 1. In a word, the object we have in view is the same, we trust, with that which our Reformers had before them; namely, to distinguish between those works by which God is to be glorified, and those merits by which man is to be justified; thereby to guard equally against presumptive confidence, and licentious conduct. And we have certainly the Apostle's authority for thus glorifying God, grounded on the most incontrovertible principle. "Ye are bought with a price, (says he) therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are his." 1 Cor. vi. 20. And nothing surely can tend more to the glory of the Creator, than for his fallen creature to be brought

to eternal happiness through the preparative medium of *personal holiness*.

Perhaps a judicious discrimination between the *absolute* and *relative* sense of words might tend to bring our systems of divinity to a nearer affinity than they now appear to possess. For that may be as strictly true in one sense, which is as notoriously untrue in another. For instance, no man living, standing upon *his own ground*, can be justified in the sight of God; whilst the most righteous man breathing, in the presence of essential purity, must be humbled in the dust. "Now mine eye seeth thee, (said Job,) I repent in dust and ashes." Still for the comfort of fallen man, there is a kind of *worthiness* in man, which God condescends to acknowledge; a worthiness not of *merit*, but of *qualification*. "They shall walk with me in white, (says the Spirit,) for they are *worthy*." Rev. iii. 4. The whole verse runs thus: "Thou hast a few names in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy." This *worthiness*, required in all those who shall be partakers of future glory, comprehends under it; 1st, a stedfast persuasion of the certainty of the future glory, together with a firm reliance on the merits of Christ alone, as our covenanted title to the possession of it: 2dly, a well weighed and fixed

resolution to part with every thing most dear to us in this world, rather than sacrifice our interest in it: 3dly, a profound and deep sense of our *own utter unworthiness* of it. And, lastly, an earnest zeal, diligence and perseverance in our endeavours to obtain it. Such was the professed doctrine of Bishop Bull, as may be seen at large in his excellent sermon on the preceding text. And if such doctrine, in the judgment of the Archdeacon of Ely, subjects the worthy Bishop to the obnoxious title of *Romanist*, I shall ever feel proud, under similar circumstances, to bear the same disgraceful title in such excellent company.

There is but one additional point to which it may be necessary at present to draw the reader's attention; but that appears to be an important one. In page twenty-six, the Archdeacon writes thus, "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works and deservings." Thus far the Archdeacon is perfectly correct. Such is the language of our article. But in the following page we read thus: "So that we are justified by God's free gift, and not of ourselves, nor by our merits, but the *righteousness of Christ is accepted to be our righteousness*." This doctrine of Calvinistic origin does not appear to have the authority of Sacred Writ; and, on that account, it is inad-

missible by all who take the Bible, in its *undulterated* sense, for their text-book. It has been the habit of a certain class of Divines to make a kind of *commutation* between Christ and fallen man. This apparently plausible idea, at least to those who adopt a peculiar system of divinity, has been founded upon some few misinterpreted and grossly perverted passages of Scripture. "God (says St. Paul) hath made Christ sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." 2 Cor. v. 30. But Christ was never, strictly speaking, made *sin* for man, but the appointed *sin offering* for him: the translator, in this case, either not knowing, or not considering, that the same word in the Greek, as in the Hebrew, denotes both *sin* and *sin offering*. Nor is the *righteousness of Christ* mentioned by the Apostle; but the *righteousness of God* in Christ; by which is understood that righteousness under the Evangelical Covenant which God deigns to accept, by "accounting fallen sinners righteous before him," for the merits of his incarnate Son: it is not, therefore, the *righteousness of Christ*, but "*the righteousness of God in Christ*." The "*righteousness of Christ*," and the "*righteousness of God in Christ*," are therefore not synonymous expressions.

The same Apostle, in reference to his own improved condition under the Gospel, speaks of

himself as not having his own righteousness, which was of the law, and in which he considered himself to be blameless ; but he does not speak of the righteousness of Christ, in which, on the supposition that he possessed it, he must necessarily have been blameless ; but he speaks only of the *righteousness of God* by faith ; in other words, of that evangelical righteousness which was acceptable to God through the merits of man's Redeemer. Another noted text has often been made applicable to this subject, namely, that in which the same Apostle says of Christ, that " of God he is made unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption." 1 Cor. i. 30. Whereas the true rendering of this passage is, " Who hath become unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." If on the ground of this passage, Christ's *personal* righteousness is imputed to man, then by parity of interpretation, his *wisdom*, his *sanctification* and *redemption* must also be considered as man's own ; an absurdity which requires no comment. Whereas this passage from the Apostle simply proves, that the divine illumination of our understandings, the justification of our persons, and redemption of soul and body, have been purchased for us through the blood of the everlasting Covenant. Whilst man's restoration to an acquittal from a state of guilt is termed the "*righteousness of God*." It being

positively affirmed by the Apostle, that "God hath set forth Christ as a propitiation through faith in *his blood*." Rom. iii. 17. And in Romans v. 9, the Apostle affirms, with equal precision, that "we are justified *by his blood*." The *personal* righteousness of Christ being what made his blood a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the *sins* of the world. To assert then, that we are justified by Christ's righteousness, imputed to us as *our own*, is not only blasphemy, but is moreover to assign a cause for our justification different from that assigned by St. Paul. It necessarily follows then from these premises, that Christ's righteousness, in the *Calvinistic* use of the expression, ought to be abandoned, as a gross perversion of the Apostle's doctrine.

To trespass no longer upon my reader, I confine myself to a short observation on the conclusion of the Archdeacon's Charge. It should seem from the language made use of in the Charge now before me, as if the Archdeacon himself began to think that some unfavourable conclusion might be drawn with respect to the correctness of his religious opinions. In page 21, we are told, that "we are justified by faith only, *to the entire exclusion of works*."

In the page now under consideration we read thus: "It is a childish cavil, wherewith, in the matter of justification, our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming that we

tread all Christian virtues under our feet, and require nothing of Christians but only faith, because we teach that faith alone justifieth; whereas by this speech we never meant to *exclude* either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates in the man that is justified"—“or works being added as *necessary duties* required at the hands of every justified man.” The Archdeacon may rest assured that I feel no pleasure in exclaiming that he treads all Christian virtues under foot, for so long as he admits Christian virtues to be joined as *necessary* mates to the man that is justified, and as duties *necessary* to be required at the hands of every justified person, we are perfectly agreed: for in such case they are made *conditions*, independent of which no person can be justified. This is what I plead for; our objection on this head being confined to that *unguarded* language, which appears calculated to lead uninformed Christians into error. And when the frailty of human nature is considered, and the devices of Satan taken into the account, it is impossible that a subject, in which the eternal interests of man are so essentially concerned, can be too plainly delivered, or too clearly understood. For the exclusive prerogative of Christ, as the *only meritorious* cause of man’s salvation, the Archdeacon cannot be more zealous than myself; at the same time, it being well known, that from the

commencement of the Christian æra, two different kinds of faith have prevailed in the world; one manifesting itself in spiritual pride and presumptuous assurance, which have at all times provided a shelter, more or less, for hypocrites and enthusiasts; the other manifesting itself in Christian humility and personal holiness, qualities of a retired and unassuming quality; it becomes of importance to the best interests of mankind, that these two kinds of faith should be properly distinguished. Let the Christian then read his Bible, in the *whole* of it, with an *unprejudiced* mind, and he cannot fail, under divine grace, to discover what the character of the faithful Christian ought to be. To the Bible then, as the Protestant's only infallible standard of judgment in religious matters, I with confidence appeal.

It has been above said, and with sincerity, that, I trusted, the Archdeacon's ideas upon the revealed system of the Gospel were correct. It is very far from my wish to find them otherwise. But upon recurring to the Archdeacon's interpretation affixed to the eleventh article, where he says, "That we are saved by faith alone, to the *entire exclusion* of good works;" a conclusion presses upon my mind, that he does not entertain a correct notion of what is to be understood by *evangelical* faith; since he appears to regard faith as a *particular*, and as it

were insulated grace; rather than in its more *general* and comprehensive character. St. James says expressly, that “ a man is justified by works, and not by *faith only*.” It appears then that St. James thought that there might be faith of that solitary and *inoperative* kind, as to prove unavailing to the salvation of the professing party. Whoever reads the Scripture with attention will find the word *faith* made use of in a great variety of senses: at the same time, when it refers to the salvation of fallen man, it must be understood in that general *comprehensive* sense, which contains under it all those evangelical graces necessary to render the man of God, according to the conditions of the Gospel covenant, “ *perfect*; thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” Now does it not appear somewhat extraordinary, that those good works should seem to be unnecessary in the character of the justified person, for the production of which he has been expressly created?—“ For,” says the Apostle (speaking of our condition by grace,) “ we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.” Ephes. ii. 10. But if man can be justified by faith only, to the *entire exclusion* of good works, then good works must be unnecessary to his justification. At least this is the way in which the great bulk of mankind will reason on this head;

for they will conclude, that there can be no imaginable cause why good works should be necessary, if the work of justification can be effected without them. On the contrary, if good works, under the Christian covenant, are necessary to man's justification, which is the obvious conclusion, from the words of the Apostle, where he unequivocally says, that Christians are "created in Christ Jesus unto good works;" in such case, faith, *exclusive* of those works, does not justify. Should there be no fallacy in the preceding argument, as, it is presumed, there is not, the Archdeacon's interpretation of the eleventh article is not only at variance from the meaning of its composers, but decidedly *unscriptural*; at the same time that it is calculated to lead ignorant Christians into most dangerous mistakes.

But possibly the Archdeacon may consider himself to be misrepresented by the foregoing statement; because he tells his readers, as it has been already observed, "that he never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates in the man that is justified."

We well know, that there have long been in the Church an order of Christian professors, who are in the habit of representing faith as the *only thing needful*; on the principle, that where faith is once established, all its corresponding effects will *necessarily follow*. Should this princi-

ple be admitted, it will follow from it, that a person might be justified *by faith alone*, without any works at all. For as in the regular course of things, effects do not *precede* their cause, it might happen, and it is to be feared, too frequently would happen, that a person said to be justified, would be justified by a faith, which, in the event, proved totally unproductive of its proper effects. But works considered as necessarily following faith *in this sense*, is the doctrine of a particular system, but not that of the Scriptures. It is not that *fides formata*, of which Bishop Taylor wrote, a faith comprehensive of all those evangelical qualities essential to its perfection in the eye of God. The true Christian faith is not a faith of the imagination, but a faith that deals more in deeds than in words. St. James has left us a wise lesson on this subject, in his pertinent answer to a supposed *Solifidian*; "Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works." James ii. 18. St. James thought, that on this most important subject, that was not to be taken for granted which remained to be proved. In the common affairs of life we do not act in this unguarded manner. When we see a crop of good fruit hanging upon a tree, we feel no hesitation in pronouncing upon its quality. But a tree, though grafted upon a good stock, may prove unproductive. And in such case we can pro-

idleness, and an incurious walking in a state of disobedience; but the mercy of God leadeth us to repentance; and when he gives us better promises, he intends we should pay him a better obedience; when he forgives us what is past, he intends we should sin no more; when he offers us his graces, he would have us make use of them; when he causes us to distrust ourselves, his meaning is we should rely only upon Him; when he enables us to do what he commands us, he commands us to do all that we can. And, therefore, this covenant of faith and mercy is also a covenant of holiness; and the grace that pardons us does also purify us; for so saith the Apostle, ‘he that hath this faith in him purifieth himself as God is pure.’ And when we are so, then we are justified indeed. This is the *law of faith*; and by works *in this sense*, and producing fruits worthy of amendment of life, we are justified before God.”

The consideration that sound morality, together with the good order of society, so essentially depend on the correctness of religious principles, has induced me to dwell longer on this part of my subject than otherwise it might have been deemed necessary. But when we reflect what an unhappy influence a mistaken system of religion has had on the affairs of this country; and on the general character of an otherwise sober-minded people, the preservation of the

religion of our Reformers, in its *unadulterated* state, must be deemed a matter of no trifling importance. To the advancement of so desirable an object as the security of that *sanc-tioned* connection between faith and works, which constitutes not less the beauty than the perfection of the evangelical system, by guarding, as far as may be, against those unwarrantable extremes to which the revealed doctrine has from time to time been subjected; every true son of the church, however unavailing his endeavours may prove, must ever rank it among his most gratifying employments in any degree to contribute.

CHAPTER III.

AN old saying struck across my mind upon first reading the unqualified charge brought against a celebrated Bishop by the Archdeacon of Ely, that he must think himself to be possessed of strong bodily powers who ventures to take a bull by the horns. Trusting that my reader will excuse this low allusion ; I proceed to apply it, by observing, that a writer must possess no small degree of confidence in his own mental powers, who ventures to call in question the sound principles of such an established Protestant writer as Bishop Bull. Now, although in moral matters a man may, at different times, act very inconsistently with himself, in consequence of his being, unhappily, more or less, under the influence of appetite, or passion ; still, with respect to subjects in which the reason of man is considered to take the lead, a writer, supposing him to be in a sound mind, very seldom, it may be presumed, renders himself obnoxious to such a disgraceful charge. For instance ; it would be considered impossible, according to the common

course of reasonable occurrences, that a Bishop, who, by much laboured research, had proved, to satisfaction, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, should, at any subsequent period, become the author of the "Improved Version of the New Testament;" the professed object of which was to demonstrate, that Jesus Christ possessed no divinity at all. By parity of reasoning it must be deemed equally impossible, that an author, who had committed himself so decidedly against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and among the rest, against that of Romish merit, (which might be proved by an induction of particulars,) should, at any time, become the advocate of that same gross and pernicious error, in the exposure of which his pen had been so often and so successfully employed. On this supposed ground, however, has the charge of the Archdeacon of Ely been brought against Bishop Bull; for on this ground has the Archdeacon ventured to associate the respectable name of that Bishop with the disgraceful title of ROMANIST.

From what the Archdeacon, however, says, that "he has taken (only) a *cursor*y view (and only) of *some parts* of Bishop Bull's first Dissertation," it may be concluded, in arrest of judgment, that such a mode of looking into the argumentative disquisitions of such an author as Bishop Bull, was not likely to render the Arch-

deacon a very competent judge of their contents. Whether such a mode of reading, well suited, indeed, to a newspaper or a novel, was calculated, in this case, either to do justice to the writer, or credit to the reader, is a point which the Archdeacon shall be left to determine for himself.—Nothing appears to manifest more strongly the solicitude of the Archdeacon to substantiate his charge against the Bishop, as a *Romanist*, than the circumstance of his remarking some passages being to be found in the Bishop's writings, supposed to be parallel with others, of a similar kind, to be met with in the works of certain Roman authors. Now, should we admit the fact, (which it is not of importance to controvert,) it would prove nothing to the establishment of the Archdeacon's point, unless he could prove, that the Bishop had so far committed himself in those passages, as to maintain any of those erroneous doctrines, which constituted the just grounds for separation between the two Churches of Rome and England. Such a remark, therefore, is like a shower of hail falling on a well-tiled building, which, after a little temporary rattling, falls harmless to the ground. It would be to trespass on the reader, therefore, to enter into such particulars. "*Valeant quantum.*"

How far this charge of *Romanism* has been made out shall now be left to the judgment of the

reader; whilst it shall be my business to adduce and compare the evidence by which the Archdeacon has attempted to establish it.

In proceeding then to our task we find ourselves stumbling at the threshold. I do not say that the charge of his having been guilty of the *iniquity of quotation* is literally to be brought against the Archdeacon; but a charge of something bordering upon it is, I conceive, to be substantiated against him. For thus the Archdeacon writes: "The professed object of Bishop Bull's Treatise, according to the title of it, is, in the first place, to explain and defend the doctrine of *justification by works*, as laid down by St. James; and afterwards to shew the agreement of that Apostle with St. Paul." P. 43. The Archdeacon here appears to be taking advantage of the imperfect title prefixed to the "*Harmonia Apostolica*;" thereby leaving an incorrect impression upon the minds of his readers. For it was neither the object of St. James, nor of Bishop Bull, to maintain *justification by works*, but to point out clearly the light in which works, as connected with justification, were to be seen: namely, that faith, *without works*, would not be acceptable in God's sight. The Archdeacon had only to apply to his Bible to be satisfied on this point. The Apostle speaks decidedly on this subject, where he says, "But wilt thou know, O

vain man, that faith *without works* is dead?" Thereby clearly intimating, that he must be a vain man who thinks otherwise. The Apostle then proceeds to the establishment of his position by the example of Abraham. "Was not Abraham, our father, justified by works, when he had offered Isaac, his son, upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?" James ii. 21, 22. Now it is to be remembered, that Abraham was originally justified by simply believing the word of God. "The Lord (we read, Gen. xv.) brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now towards heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, so shall thy seed be; and he believed in the Lord, and he counted it unto him for righteousness." It appears then to be as clear as the sun at noon-day, that if Abraham had refused to obey the divine command to leave his native country, and to offer up his son, his faith would not have been *perfect* in the eyes of God, and consequently Abraham would not have been finally justified by it. But the Archdeacon need not to have looked beyond the page which contains the title of the treatise in question, to have been satisfied with respect to the object which Bishop Bull had before him in the dissertation here referred to.

○ At the bottom of the title-page, an extract

from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians is placed, which plainly speaks to the object which Bishop Bull had before him ; which, for the benefit of the English reader, I thus freely translate. “ I conceal nothing from you, (says the exemplary Martyr,) that you might have your faith *perfect in Christ Jesus*, and charity, which is the beginning and end of the Christian life. For faith is the beginning, but charity is the end ; for these two things joined together are of God.” This passage, which occurs in Russel’s edition in the 14th chapter of the Epistle, appears to be somewhat stronger, for it commences thus. “ Suffer not yourselves to be wounded by any corruption of the Devil,” &c. hereby intimating, that to separate faith and charity from each other, was an artifice or corruption of the Devil. Now we are expressly told by the Apostle, that of the three Christian graces, faith, hope, and charity, “ that the greatest of these is *charity* ;” and “ that charity never faileth.” It appears then in reason to follow, that no Christian professor can expect to be justified in the eyes of God, who is deficient in that greatest grace by which the Christian character is distinguished. “ By this (says Christ) shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.”—Let us now consider what the Archdeacon himself says relative to this important point. In his Charge he writes thus : “ It is a childish cavil,

wherewith, in the matter of justification, our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming, that we tread all Christian virtues under feet, and require nothing of Christians but only faith, because we teach that faith alone justifieth; whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being *always joined*, as *inseparable mates* in the man that is justified; "or works being added as *necessary duties* required at the hands of every justified man."

We take the Archdeacon at his word; and observe, that supposing the Archdeacon to admit, as he here confessedly does, that hope and charity, (which are component parts of good works under the Gospel,) are always to be joined as *inseparable mates* in the justified person, and are considered as "*necessary duties* required at the hands of every justified person," we are, so far at least, in perfect unison with each other. Why then, it may be asked, all this war of words? when all parties, when properly understood, mean *essentially* the same thing. For what does St. James or Bishop Bull say more, than that justifying faith must be accompanied with its proper fruits, or, in the Archdeacon's words, with "*those necessary duties* required at the hands of every justified person." Either then good works are necessary to a justified person, or they are not. The Archdeacon says plainly that they are.

Why then does he not say so upon all occasions, without equivocation or mental reservation? Surely on a point upon which every one who names the name of Christ ought to be plainly instructed, every thing like ambiguity of language ought to be avoided. Instead then of saying that good works are "*entirely excluded*" from justification, should not the Archdeacon rather have given his readers plainly to understand in *what sense* they were considered to be connected with it?

But this, it must be observed, is not the precise point at issue. We therefore pass on. The Archdeacon of Ely has brought an unqualified charge against Bishop Bull, of his being a *Romanist*, which implies that he holds the doctrine of *human merit*, as making out, in part at least, man's title to justification. The party who brings a charge, is, according to the due course of justice, the party to prove it. After some short observation, therefore, on the case, we shall be ready to proceed to trial.

It has often occurred to me, that the error on this subject has proceeded from the doctrine of justification having unfortunately been viewed through a Calvinistic medium. But into this subject we shall not now enter, because it is not properly *coram judice*. What we have to establish, is the orthodoxy of Bishop Bull's doctrine, in contradiction to the charge brought against

him. We consider ourselves capable of proving that the doctrine of Bishop Bull was the doctrine of St. James and of our Reformers. And it was, as we conceive, simply this, that man derived his title to justification solely from the merits of his crucified Redeemer, at the same time that his faith in those merits must be accompanied with its correspondent fruits; in the Archdeacon's words, with those *necessary duties*, without which it would not be considered perfect; in other words, that Jesus Christ was the only *meritorious* cause of man's justification before God, but that good works under the Gospel Covenant were the *condition*, (or the *sine quâ non*,) without which man cannot expect to be justified. Whereas the charge brought against the Bishop of his being a *Romanist* implies that he holds the corrupt doctrine of *Romish merit*. But the difference between the doctrine of justification by the sole merits of Jesus Christ through faith, and the corrupt doctrine of *human merit*, as professed by the Church of Rome, is too apparent to common sense, to justify the detaining our reader a moment longer upon it.

We now proceed to the examination of the Archdeacon's proof; trusting that we shall obtain the reader's patience, since he must be aware that a charge may be brought forward in much fewer words than it can be substantially repelled.

The Archdeacon, in page 44, writes thus:

“ Those who believe in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures cannot, for a moment, doubt that the apparently opposite sentiments of these two Apostles may be reconciled without any forced construction upon the language of either. Still it must be admitted, that one or more of those terms, *justify*, *faith*, and *works*, has been used by the two inspired writers in a somewhat different sense. There is nothing in this, however, calculated to create surprize, if we consider how many different combinations of ideas are, or may be, included in these complex terms, and the consequent diversity of meanings which may be attached to each respectively. When, therefore, these two Apostles arrived at such seemingly opposite conclusions, the one, ‘ that a man is justified by the works of the law ;’ the other, ‘ that by works a man is justified, not by faith only,’ it is obvious that they must have been arguing from different premises ; that is, must have affixed a different sense to one, or more of these terms.”—This whole passage, as it strikes me, makes more against the Archdeacon than for him. I shall not, however, detain my reader, by proving, at length, the essential agreement between the two Apostles in question, because this has already been repeatedly done to satisfaction. My object shall be to meet the Archdeacon on his own ground, and to measure him by his own standard. We per-

fectly agree with the Archdeacon, that the two Apostles are easy to be reconciled with each other, because writing under the same divine inspiration they cannot be supposed to contradict each other. Each, therefore, having brought forward the same example of Abraham in proof of their doctrine, both Apostles must have entertained similar sentiments with respect to the nature of Abraham's faith. What those sentiments were St. James has plainly expressed. After commencing his account of Abraham by a leading question, where he says, "was not Abraham, our father, justified by works?" the Apostle proceeds, in the following verse, to give the sense in which his preceding words were to be taken, by saying, "Seest thou, how faith wrought with his works, and by works was his faith made perfect?" It appears then, from the judgment of the Apostle, that had not Abraham's faith been accompanied by his works, it would not have been a *perfect* faith, and consequently not a faith by which he would have been justified. It follows then, that when the Archdeacon says, that "we are justified by faith only *to the entire exclusion of works*," his language, unless properly explained, is not strictly correct. Again: we perfectly agree with the Archdeacon, that the terms, faith and works, have been used "in different senses;" and that "many different combinations of ideas are, or may be, included

and the same words may be used to denote

in these complex terms, and consequently diversity of meanings attached to them respectively." On the ground of the Archdeacon's concessions we ask, why are not evangelical works to be considered as *included* in evangelical faith, (for it is of that faith we are speaking)? But the Archdeacon has told us, that they are to be *entirely excluded*. We leave this apparent inconsistency to be reconciled between the Archdeacon and himself; the Archdeacon having, in a former page, told his reader, that "hope and charity are always to be joined as inseparable mates in the justified person, and as *necessary* duties required at the hand of every justified person." Again: that the two Apostles argued from different premises may readily be admitted; for the two Apostles had two very different cases before them. St. Paul's object was to wean newly converted Jews from their attachment to their own law, as incompatible with the Gospel; on the ground, that even Abraham, "*as pertaining to the flesh,*" was not justified by his *works*, but by his *faith* in the promises of God. St. James, on the other hand, was writing to Christian converts who had mistaken St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, with the view of persuading them, that evangelical faith was not to be made the passport to licentiousness; whilst the illustration of their respective doctrine, by an appeal to the same example of faithful Abraham, proves, that their

design was to lead their respective disciples to the same evangelical conclusion. In fact, the Archdeacon appears to have dressed up a frightful figure for himself to fire at; but as his shot can never wound a true Bible Christian, he may be left to spend his ammunition *ad libitum*.

The Archdeacon now brings Bishop Bull on the stage; for speaking of him in page 44, he writes thus: "But the learned author (namely, Bishop Bull) is of opinion, that St. Paul's meaning is to be gathered from an investigation of that of St. James. His words are these; " *Ac primò quidem ex iis quæ jam diximus, illud fundamenti loco statui potest, rationi longè convenientius esse, ut Paulum ex Jacobo, quàm ut Jacobum ex Paulo interpremur.*" Apos. Diss. post. cap. 4. *Partial* quotations seldom lead to correct judgments.

It is submitted to the Archdeacon's consideration, whether, instead of bringing a *partial* quotation from the Bishop's writings before his readers, he ought not to have laid the whole passage in question before them, that they might be qualified to do justice to the Bishop's reasons for the plan which he had thought proper to adopt. The Bishop thus proceeds:—" *Præterquam enim quod verba Jacobi sunt adeo diserta, clara, et perspicua, ut qui de eorum sensu dubitat, nodum plane in scirpo quærere meritisimo jure dicendus sit, illud etiam notatu haud indignum est, quod veterum multi (eosque inter*

Augustinus) censent Epistolam Jacobi, et Johannis primum, et Judæ, et eam quæ Petri secunda dicitur, scriptas adversus eos, qui Paulinas Epistolas pravè interpretantes, fidem docebant sine bonis operibus ad salutem sufficere. Cui sententiæ fidem faciunt ultima Epistola illius, quæ Petro adscribitur, verba," (where speaking of St. Paul's Epistles, he says, "that in them are some things hard to be understood, which they who are unlearned and unstable, wrest, as they do also other Scriptures, to their own destruction.) " Certè enim, si rem probè expendes, nullam invenies in Epistolis Paulinis doctrinam, quæ pravis interpretationibus sit magis exposita, vel quæ revera, a primis usque seculis, in hanc ipsam diem, pejora passa fuerit quàm hæc ipsa, de justificatione ex fide solâ sine operibus, disputatio. Idem quoque probabile sit ex eo, quod Jacobus ejusdem Abrahami exemplo utitur, ut probet opera ad justificationem *requiri*, ex cujus exemplo Paulus intulerat, justificari hominem per fidem *sine operibus*." The Archdeacon proceeds with the following section, writing thus : " He (the Bishop) thinks that the meaning of the former, (namely, St. James,) is very clear, while all the ambiguity and obscurity is to be imputed to the latter, (St. Paul.) " De Jacobo verè plane constat, quicquid aut ambiguitatis aut obscuritatis sit, id totum in Paulinis Epistolis quærendum." With the plain language of the Bishop

before him, it is submitted to the judgment of the reader, whether the Bishop has not acted as all judicious writers would have acted under similar circumstances; by explaining ambiguous language by what was plain and perspicuous; that is, by explaining St. Paul by St. James, rather than the latter by the former. But with the view of bringing his subject more home to his purpose, that of establishing his charge against Bishop Bull, the Archdeacon has subjoined to the above passage the following note. "Those who are conversant with the questions which have been agitated between the Romanists and the Protestants from the time of the Reformation to the present day, must be aware that the former bring forward the difficulties which occur in the writings of St. Paul, (alleging for this end 2 Pet. iii. 16.) most frequently for the purpose of discouraging the free and unrestrained use of the word of God without note or comment; sometimes also in order to get rid of a doctrine peculiarly obnoxious to them, viz. that of justification by faith alone."

I must confess, I have not penetration sufficient to discover the necessary consequence of the Archdeacon's reasoning, which has led to the conclusion here meant to apply to Bishop Bull. For the life of me I cannot see, what the circumstance of the Romanists alleging the difficulties in St. Paul's writings, for the purpose of dis-

couraging the unrestrained use of the word of God without note or comment, sometimes also (it may be) to get rid of the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*, can have to do with Bishop Bull's applying to the authority of St. James for the establishment of a very different purpose; namely, the necessity of faith being *made perfect* by works. Logicians would call this a *non probatur*.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader by entering further into the Archdeacon's note; it may be necessary only to ask, what the Bishop's interpretation of St. Paul by St. James has to do with the corrupt doctrine of Romish merit? How does the Bishop's comparing the language of the two Apostles with the view to the establishment of their respective meaning, make the Bishop chargeable with the corrupt doctrine, which the Apostles themselves never heard of? With equal justice might the Archdeacon apply the title of *Romanist on this ground* to St. Paul and St. James as to Bishop Bull. For the Bishop does not say with the Papist, that the Christian is saved *by works*; but, with St. James, that he will not be saved by faith *without them*. I conclude therefore without fear of contradiction, that so far as relates to *this count*, the Archdeacon must be nonsuited, the title of *Romanist*, applied to Bishop Bull, on the ground now before the reader, being the *grossest misrepresentation*.

Proceed we to page 46, where we read thus :
 " It is especially deserving of remark, that in this Homily exclusive deference is paid to the authority of St. Paul, and that it contains no less than ten citations from his writings, while not a single verse is quoted from the Epistle of St. James." It might have occurred to the Archdeacon, that the circumstance of ten citations from St. Paul being found in the Homily, and not one from St. James, was in fact of no moment, had he considered that the citations from St. Paul bore directly upon the point which the Reformers had in view to establish, whilst no citations from St. James would immediately have answered their purpose. For the doctrine which our Reformers had to establish in the Homily in question was simply this, that no human works of any kind were to encroach upon those all-sufficient merits, to which alone the justification of fallen man was to be attributed. The Archdeacon of Ely must therefore see much further than I can, to discover how this circumstance of Bishop Bull's appealing to St. James instead of St. Paul is deserving of especial remark ; it strikes me as the most natural thing in the world, that the Bishop should have recourse to that authority which applied more particularly to the subject which he had immediately before him : and of this the Archdeacon must have been satisfied, had he not read the Bishop's *Harmonia Aposto-*

lica too cursorily to weigh the reasons which the Bishop in the fourth chapter of his latter dissertation has given at length, for the method which he had thought proper to adopt. From these supposed premises, however, the Archdeacon feels himself warranted in drawing the following conclusion. "This fact alone," says the Archdeacon, (namely, that of the Bishop's appealing to the authority of St. James, not to that of St. Paul,) "independent of every other consideration, would incline every consistent Churchman to suspect the soundness of the learned author's *scheme*." Hoping to be given credit for the character of a consistent Churchman, I must still be free to declare, that I cannot admit the soundness of the Archdeacon's conclusion. But from respect to the character of the Archdeacon, I must suppose him to have sinned through ignorance in this case, from a want of sufficient acquaintance with the general tenor of the Bishop's writings, otherwise he would never have run the risk of disgracing his own character, by a vain attempt to disgrace that of the learned Bishop. The Archdeacon ought most certainly to have been better informed upon this subject, before he had thus freely committed himself on the character of such a respectable man as Bishop Bull. It will therefore be but charity to help the Archdeacon to that information, which at present he does not appear to possess, trusting that it may

prove the means of enabling him to do justice to the Bishop's character on some future occasion. By the "*learned author's scheme*," it is presumed the Archdeacon must mean the scheme of proving, by his reference to St. James, that man is to be justified by *works*. But St. James had no such object in view; consequently the Bishop could have received no support from St. James, had his *scheme* been what the Archdeacon so readily gives him credit for. The object which St. James more immediately had in view, as every attentive reader of his epistle must know, was to guard against the abuse of the evangelical doctrine of "justification by faith only," by making it the passport to licentiousness; and it is upon this principle alone the Apostle speaks of works as necessary to the *perfection* of faith, appealing to the *works* of Abraham as his proof in point. The Bishop had precisely the same object in view, as is to be presumed from his writing in those times of Puritanism, when this gross corruption of the evangelical doctrine too generally prevailed; and is decidedly to be proved from the Bishop's style of writing in reference to that unhappy subject. For thus the Bishop writes, in his excellent sermon on Hosea x. 12; a sermon which, it must be presumed, has never fallen under the Archdeacon's notice. The Bishop writes: "Among us Protestants there have been many (too, too many) that have taught for pure, yea, the purest

Gospel, such doctrines as these, 'That the faith whereby we are justified, is nothing else but a bare recumbence, or reliance upon Christ, or, (which is a worse definition), that it is only a firm belief and persuasion that our sins are already pardoned, and are already justified, and consequently that the justification spoken of in Scripture is nothing else but the sense or knowledge of our justification past, decreed from eternity: that Christ obeyed the law, and suffered in our persons, and his righteousness is formally ours, and consequently that there is no necessity of any righteousness in ourselves in order to our salvation. That we are to work not *for life*, but *from life*, as they phrase it, and consequently that all good works are (after a sort,) works of supererogation, to which no necessity obligeth us, but only gratitude freely inclines us.' The men who taught these sad propositions were called *Antinomians*, whose name indeed now is every where odious and derided, but the doctrines themselves have taken such deep root in the hearts of the people, that multitudes still perish upon the confidence of the same principles. Yet (God be thanked) I know of no Protestant Church that openly avoucheth any of these doctrines. I am sure our Church of England is far from doing so. They are the errors or heresies rather of certain private and unlicensed doctors, who took occasion

to sow the tares, not when the watchmen slept, but when they were by a tyrannical power silenced, and driven from their charges in the time of usurpation:"—in the days when Puritanism reigned in this country. The Bishop then proceeds to expose the corrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome, referring particularly to the treasury of the *merits of saints*, under the Pope's lock and key, and the indulgences of pardon to the greatest sinners openly set to sale, under pretence of being zealous for good works; that is, works of their own devising, at the same time that the Papists are most regardless of those substantial and truly good works which God hath commanded; a circumstance particularly pointed out by our Reformers as characteristic of the corrupt religion of the Romish Church.

The Bishop then proceeds thus: "But now the true Reformed religion (I am sure that of the Church of England) teaches men the necessity of good works, *truly* good; all the substantial works of piety, justice, and charity. It teacheth men not to expect heaven and salvation without these, but yet not to think of *meriting heaven by them*." "Wherefore," continues the Bishop, in correspondence with his text, "let no man deceive you with vain words. Fix and settle in your minds such plain texts of Scripture as these, 'except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish.' 'Follow peace with all men, and holiness, *without which* no man

shall see the Lord.' Heb. xii. 14." Then follows the plain text from Rom. ii. 6, &c. and then the Bishop proceeds to his pertinent conclusion in correspondence with his text: "When," says the Bishop, "we have sown in righteousness, that is, done righteous works, we must not plead *any merit of our own* in having so done, but must look for the reward from the free grace and mercy of God. He that hath sown the seeds of righteousness most plentifully, must look for his harvest of glory only from the mercy of God. He that is richest in good works, must sue for heaven in the quality of a poor worthless creature, that needs infinite mercy to bring him thither; mercy to pardon his sins antecedent to his good works; mercy to forgive the sins and defects of his works; mercy to advance his works, (being though supposed never so perfect, yet finite and temporary,) to the possibility of attaining an infinite and endless reward. He must confess with St. Paul that 'eternal life is *the gift of God through Jesus Christ.*' Rom. vi. 22. Consequently, that though his crown be a crown of righteousness, that is, *of God's righteousness*, whereby he is obliged to make good his own covenant; yet that it is a crown of mercy too, because that the covenant itself was a covenant of infinite grace and mercy."

If the above language of Bishop Bull does not, in the Archdeacon's judgment, speak the

true evangelical doctrine, the Archdeacon and the Bishop cannot have read the same Bible. Upon the admission then that the above luminous extract from the Bishop's writings contains sound doctrine, a point which, it is presumed, will not be controverted, it proves to demonstration, that Bishop Bull was not only *no Romanist*, but on the contrary, a *true Bible Christian*. And if so, it is submitted to the Archdeacon's consideration, whether he is not bound by candour, by honour, and professional consistency, to make the *amende honorable* ; by frankly acknowledging the charge, which he has inconsiderately brought against that respectable Bishop, to be a most unfounded, and consequently unwarrantable libel.

Although, in my judgment, evidence has already been produced abundantly sufficient to prove the sound principles of Bishop Bull, in strict conformity with the general tenor of the Scriptures, and the established doctrine of that church of which he was so distinguished an ornament, I might still be considered as wanting to his cause, were I to omit to take notice of that excellent sermon, in which it was the Bishop's object clearly to point out the nature of that *worthiness* required of those, who are to be partakers of future glory. The following is the Bishop's text ; " And they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy." The context runs thus : " Thou hast a few names even in Sardis

which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy." Rev. iii. 4.

This, it is to be observed, (and it is a circumstance well worthy observation, it being part of the speech of the great Head of the Church to the Angel or Bishop of the Church of Sardis;) and it is still more observable, because it proves that the Head of the Church pays strict attention to the *works* of her members. "And to the angel of the Church of Sardis, write these things, saith He, that hath the seven spirits of God, and the seven stars. I know thy works, thou hast a name, and art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die, for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent; if, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know at what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are *worthy*. He that overcometh (the temptations to which he is exposed in this world of trial) shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels." Whilst we are given to understand that the raiment of fine

linen is the *righteousness of the saints*. It appears then that the inhabitants of Sardis had professed the name of Christianity; but in the judgment of the Head of the Church himself, their faith was *dead*, because their works were not perfect, and they had defiled their garments: and that unless they repented, Christ would not "confess or acknowledge them before his Father." I would ask the Archdeacon, is not this precisely the doctrine of St. James, where he says, (*totidem verbis*) "wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is *dead*, and that the reason of Abraham's being justified was, that by works his faith had been made perfect." James ii. And is not this the very doctrine upon the authority of this same Apostle, which it was Bishop Bull's object to establish? and that it was for the prevention of all misconception on this important subject, that the Bishop considered that St. Paul should be interpreted by St. James, and not St. James by St. Paul, in consent with many of the ancient fathers, (and particularly of St. Augustin himself,) who are of opinion that the General Epistle of St. James, the First of St. John, and the Second of St. Peter, with that of Jude, were written against those who, by misinterpreting St. Paul's Epistles, had imbibed a fond notion, as if faith *without works* were sufficient to save them. He sheweth whence this obscurity and ambiguity of St. Paul might probably arise, which was the

occasion that persons not well grounded came to mistake and pervert the same. Now all this, and much more, in defence of the mode of interpretation adopted by the Bishop, the Archdeacon could not but have known, had he not read the Bishop's dissertations in a *cursor*y manner, as he acknowledges to have been the case; an acknowledgment which shall be left for the Archdeacon himself to appreciate.

It has been already observed, that there are two senses in which the same language may be taken; an *absolute* and a *relative* one; and should not these senses be distinctly marked when they occur, the Bible may be made one of the most contradictory books in the world. Whilst it is, in a just discrimination, on proper occasions, that the rightly dividing of the word of truth doth very materially consist. The Archdeacon, it is presumed, will not revolt at the term *worthy*, when he considers that it was employed by our Saviour himself; by which we are given to understand, that there is a kind of worthiness of which it is expected that Christians should be possessed; not, as it has been above observed, a worthiness of *merit*, but of *condition*; that worthiness which renders them meet, or fit to be "partakers with the saints in light." That worthiness, it is presumed, which St. Paul had in view when he wrote thus to his disciples at Philippi: "Not as though I had al-

ready attained, or were already *perfect*, but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended, but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." Philip. iii. 12, 13, 14. This is that *worthiness* which Bishop Bull, with his wonted perspicuity and discrimination, pointed out to notice in the discourse under consideration. In which he writes thus :—He begins with strongly contrasting the *Romish doctrine of merit*, according to the decree of the Council of Trent, with the *worthiness* under consideration. The former he calls an *horrid* doctrine, not to be endured in the Church of Christ. He then proceeds to give the following account of the *worthiness* under consideration, that it is only "a *worthiness* of meetness, fitness, or due disposition to receive the heavenly glory ; and this disposition wrought in us by the grace, and accepted through the mercy of the Gospel Covenant, procured, ratified, and confirmed, by the meritorious obedience and sufferings of the Son of God, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "The sum is," (concludes the excellent Bishop,) "no man shall be accounted worthy of the future heavenly glory, but he that stedfastly be-

believing it, thinks no labour too much to obtain it; he, whose greatest care it is, how he may save his precious and immortal soul, and accordingly makes religion his main business. He, who watches and prays daily, and, in a word, who lives a life fruitful of good works : works of piety towards God, and (according to his ability) of charity towards men. This man, and he only, though indeed *unworthy in himself*, yet through the rich mercy of God, and the *merits of Christ*, shall be accounted worthy of the blessed immortality, to live with the holy angels, yea, with God himself, in the beatific vision, and fruition of Him for ever and ever."

It is much to be wished, that Mr. Nelson's life of Bishop Bull had fallen in the Archdeacon's way; because therein he would have found a most excellent and perspicuous exposition of the plan of the Bishop's dissertations. By which, it is presumed, he must have been satisfied that the Bishop was not less tenacious of the exclusive prerogative of Jesus Christ, as the *sole meritorious cause* of man's salvation, than himself; and that the principal object the Bishop had in view was to guard against that abuse, to which, through the corruption of man's fallen nature, and the artifice of the grand deceiver, it had, at different times, been made subservient. With this view, it was the Bishop's design to prove that good works, proceeding from a right principle, and

in conjunction with faith, are a necessary condition required by God; to the end, that by the new and evangelical covenant, obtained and sealed by the blood of Christ, the Mediator, we may be justified according to his free and unmerited grace. At the same time it is to be well observed, that the Bishop every where studiously renounces all pretence to any kind of merit of good works; even so far as scarce to acknowledge that person for a Christian who should advance or defend merit properly so called; whilst nothing can be more plain, than that in the whole affair of man's salvation, and process of divine justification, the Bishop attributeth all to the meritorious obedience of the holy Jesus, as the blessed author and finisher of it. Of this meritorious obedience of Christ unto death, for us men, and for our salvation, the Bishop plainly and roundly says, that this *alone* hath given satisfaction to the divine justice; that this *alone* rendereth the most holy and righteous God propitious to fallen sinners; and that this *alone* is the efficacious cause of God's promising and offering pardon and eternal life upon so very reasonable and equitable a condition as the Gospel sets forth. At the same time, in justice it is to be observed, that few writers more severely condemn the Pelagian Heresy for derogating from the grace of God, and ascribing too much to the power of man in his fallen

state, than Bishop Bull. Whilst no writer more frequently celebrates the divine grace so perfectly according to the mind of St. Paul, and the doctrine of the Church of England, in conformity with her articles and homilies, than this same Bishop Bull. Can any thing more be in reason required? Yes, says the Archdeacon of Ely, I must have nothing short of free, absolute, and *unconditional* salvation, from first to last; and works must not in any way be mentioned. As a divine, not professing this *ultra creed*, I would beg leave only to ask one question. Does an act of sovereign grace become less an act of grace, by its being accompanied with conditions intended solely to minister to the advantage of the parties, for whose benefit the act in question was originally designed? Or, if it may be permitted to add a corollary to the above position, I should say, does not the exaction of *conditions* necessary to qualify man for the salvation which had been purchased for him by the blood of Christ, evince, *ex abundanti*, the earnest solicitude of the merciful Creator for the final happiness of his fallen creature? Viewing the subject in this light, there cannot, it may be hoped, be any material difference of opinion between us. Whilst, with respect to the dispute which has unfortunately arisen relative to the comparative interpretation of the two (supposed) discordant Apostles, a faithful compari-

son of Scripture, accompanied with a moderate share of common sense, will be sufficient to settle it. The proposition of St. James is, "that by works a man is justified, not *by faith only*." The proposition of the other Apostle is, that "a man is justified by faith without the *deeds of the law*." Now, upon the principle admitted by the Archdeacon, that both Apostles wrote under the same divine inspiration, it is impossible that there could be any real contradiction between them; and consequently that there must be a meaning in which both will be found essentially to agree. Such must be the language of plain sense upon this subject; and there could have been no difficulty concerning the meaning of these two Apostles respectively, had the state of the controversy in their days been duly attended to, and their professed interpreters had not come with modern opinions and prejudices to read their Epistles; and thereby to establish the truth, not by the letter of the truth itself, but by their own rooted prepossessions concerning it.

But the Archdeacon returns to the charge, with nothing, as I conceive, but powder in his barrel. The reader will judge:—the Archdeacon writes thus, p. 46. "In the second chapter of the first dissertation, Bishop Bull endeavours to establish the conclusion which he deduces from St. James, by arguments drawn from Scrip-

ture. With this view he cites many passages, chiefly from the New Testament, inculcating the love of God and man, and enforcing the necessity of repentance and universal holiness. But, may it not be asked, in what way does any one of these passages go to prove the doctrine of justification by works?" I answer, by saying, that the passages in question could not have been brought forward with any such view; because such was not the doctrine which the Bishop meant to establish. The Archdeacon proceeds: "Can any man be found, who fulfils the precepts which they contain perfectly without any defect; constantly without any intermission? If there be not, how is it possible for justification to be obtained by works?" I have ventured to say, that the Archdeacon returns to the charge with only powder in his barrel—in other words, that what the Archdeacon thinks proper to say in the preceding extract, expressly calculated to lead his readers to a conclusion unfavourable to the Bishop, namely, that the Bishop thought it "possible for justification to be obtained by works;" is *vox et præterea nihil*.

We have been called upon to determine the justness of the charge brought against Bishop Bull of his being a ROMANIST. A ROMANIST, strictly speaking, attaches such a degree of merit to human works, as is considered in itself to be, in a degree at least, available to the

salvation of the party who pleads them. It is submitted to consideration, whether, in all judicial proceedings, a regular making out of a charge ought not to precede the adduction of proof to establish it? Now in what way has the charge of Bishop Bull's being a *Romanist* been made out against him in the passage under consideration? By the following question: "Can any man be found, who fulfils the precepts which the law of God contains perfectly and without defect; constantly and without intermission? If there be not, how is it possible for justification to be obtained by works?" The court is indirectly given to understand, that such is the doctrine of Bishop Bull. Otherwise the above passage, so far as the Bishop is affected by it, is "*nil ad rem*," or, as it has been already expressed, "*vox et præterea nihil*." Indeed did we think that the preceding passage, apparently brought forward to illustrate the Bishop's doctrine, did in the least bear upon the Bishop, a multitude of passages might be produced to counteract such a calumny; not to trespass upon the reader, we shall bring forward one only, where the Bishop writes thus: "We can never, in God's gracious account, be *worthy* of the future happiness, that is, fit to receive it from God's infinite mercy in Christ, if we think ourselves worthy of it, that is, in the least *to merit or deserve it*. No, on the contrary,

the best of us, after all our best endeavours, must sue for heaven in the quality of poor, worthless, and sinful creatures; we must debase ourselves to the lowest degree, and exalt and magnify the riches of God's grace and mercy in Christ Jesus, who hath called us to the participation of so excellent a glory, and admits us to it upon so equitable, so easy a condition, as *faith working by love.*" This language, it might be supposed, would satisfy the Archdeacon himself. We appear then at length to be arrived at some point; the Archdeacon having brought something tangible before us. It shall be our business to try what it is made of.

It may be concluded, that by asking the preceding question, with the Bishop immediately in his eye, "how is it possible for justification to be obtained by works?" that the charge against the Bishop was meant to be tried upon this ground. Admitting such to be the case, two points appear necessary to be substantiated before the charge in question can be brought to bear upon the Bishop at all. In the first place, the *works* for which the Bishop is made responsible, must be considered *exclusively in themselves* as entitled to justification. Nor is this all; they must, moreover, be works of *Papal merit* to justify the title of *Romanist* being affixed to the Bishop's name. Now it is not possible that the works which the Bishop had in view

could be either one or the other of these two sorts of works; but they were plainly and simply those works of *evangelical righteousness* necessary to the perfection of Christian faith. And as Bishop Bull supported his own principles in a great measure by St. James, it must be supposed that their sentiments were in unison upon the subject they respectively had before them. So far then as the Archdeacon's charge appears to be substantiated *on this ground*, it certainly has not a single leg to stand upon. The Archdeacon refers his reader to the second chapter of the first dissertation. We follow him there; but find nothing in that chapter which tends to prove the point which the Archdeacon is so desirous of making out against the Bishop, but discover only an earnest solicitude, by an appeal to different parts of the Sacred Writings, for the security of that doctrine which he was so earnest to establish; namely, that works of *evangelical righteousness*, whenever they could be performed for the glory of God, were necessary to the perfection of Christian faith: and he will be the best friend to his fellow-mortal, who shall prove the means of conducting him to the completion of the Christian scheme, by bringing him into a fit condition, through the renewal of his fallen nature, to be a partaker with the saints in glory; not by works of righteousness which he has done, but "by the washing of regeneration

and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which, if not wanting to himself, will be shed on him abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." I shall not detain my reader by bringing into distinct notice the particulars contained in the chapter immediately referred to by the Arch-deacon, as they consist only of those detailed proofs, drawn from different parts of the Sacred Writings, necessary to confirm the doctrine, which it was a principal object with the Bishop to maintain; namely, that he who had been taught by the Christian dispensation to look to the merits of a crucified Saviour for salvation, might not be disappointed of his hope, through the unsanctified nature of his own personal condition; which important doctrine the Bishop's judicious annotator thus briefly concentrates at the conclusion of this same chapter; "Clarè innuens, *merito Christi* justificari, *non nisi* qui spiritu Christi prius *sancti redduntur*. Nec obscurè hæc innuit Apost. ad Titum, cap. iii. 6, 7. de Spiritu Sancto scribens; 'quem effudit (Deus) in nos abunde, per Jesu Christum Servatorem nostrum, ut, justificati gratiâ ipsius, hæredes fiamus secundum spem vitæ æternæ.' Quasi haud justificemur, *nisi* Spiritu Sancto prius in nos effuso *renovati*." Upon this important point, that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord," the plan of salvation under the Gospel covenant has been made to turn: the only

plan which appears calculated to bring ultimate glory to God, by the effectual recovery of his fallen creature, who thereby becomes renewed again unto holiness after the image of his gracious Creator.

After this view of the Gospel plan of salvation, as laid down by Bishop Bull, in conformity with the general tenor of the sacred writings, it would be to trespass upon the reader, were I to enter into all those differences of opinion, occasioned principally by the different acceptation of words by parties viewing the same subject through different mediums. In all such cases I know no better remedy than that prescribed by the Apostle, "as much as lieth in us, to live peaceably with all men," and to bear with all men, as far as may be, without sacrificing the *essentials* of that religion, which, as Ministers of Christ, we are pledged to maintain. Bishop Bull was certainly no Calvinist; to any other system but that revealed in the Bible, he professed not to pay attention. His works therefore could not be over palatable to those, who had been in the habit of drawing their knowledge on spiritual subjects from less pure sources. With the most profound reverence for mystery in religion, where it had real existence, the Bishop still had no respect for it in parts, in which it was not intended to be found; and in cases in which it was oftener employed as a eloke

for deceit, than for any other more salutary purpose; but considering the Bible as a divine revelation for the use of mankind at large, he judged that the sense most obvious to the plainest understanding, was that in which its language was generally intended to be received. His object was to simplify the study of Christianity as far as he could, by giving plain and definite meanings to words; freeing the important subject of religion from those *sophistical* ambiguities, in which it had long been involved, and thereby putting an end, so far as might be, to those logomachies, (in consequence of words being multiplied without distinct meanings annexed to them) by which the theology of the Bishop's days had been so much disgraced. A man thus circumstanced could scarcely be expected to meet the wishes of those who formed their religious opinions by a different standard from that of the Bible, from a regard to particular systems, which in the Bishop's judgment the Bible no where acknowledged. Bearing this consideration in mind, we do not feel in the least surprised at the manner in which the Archdeacon introduces the Bishop to the notice of his reader in the following not over decorous language: "When the eleventh article expressly affirms that we are justified by faith only, and the Homily declares from St. Paul that nothing is wanting in man's behalf, towards his

justification, but only a true and lively faith, that individual must be *an intrepid controversialist*, who would persist in maintaining, in opposition to both these authorities, that man is justified by works alone, or by faith and works in conjunction. Bishop Bull, however, is not at all deterred by a difficulty of this kind, for he asserts that where St. Paul ascribes justification and salvation to faith alone, although he mentions faith alone, he means all those things besides, which usually follow."—Thus writes the Archdeacon of Ely.—Now as the Bishop, in the Archdeacon's estimation, appears to have been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, even so great as to draw down upon him the appellation of *an intrepid controversialist*, because he asserts that, although the Apostle mentions faith alone, he means those things besides which are to follow ; I beg leave briefly to ask, in what sense a *true and lively faith*, (for that is the term made use of in the Homily,) is otherwise to be understood, than by including under it the several qualities by which its character is to be known and distinguished *as such* ? It might appear to be taking an unfair advantage of a person professing to have only *cursorily* read the Bishop's writings, to try him by the letter of them ; but as the Archdeacon puts himself on that ground, we can have no possible objection to meet him ; and here we find, what will be found on most occa-

sions, that much of what is right and wrong in the world depends in a great measure on the *medium* through which things are made to pass. The Archdeacon must of course have considered himself to be perfectly acquainted with the firmness of his ground, before he ventured to advance with such confidence upon it. We have already met the Archdeacon upon one of his charges, which we considered to be what a humourous Frenchman would call a charge brought *en badinage*, rather than with any view to *serious proof*. For to suppose that Bishop Bull, after his various expositions of the Scripture doctrine, together with his decided protestations against the erroneous doctrines of the Church of Rome, should himself be, in any *proper* sense of the word, a *Romanist*, is to suppose the learned Bishop to be a man not less defective in principle, than in common sense. But it should seem as if the Archdeacon acknowledged but one alternative in this case. His Christian professor must be either a downright Solifidian, or an absolute Romanist; since no mention of works, as in any way connected with justification under the Gospel covenant, is admitted by him, without subjecting the party who ventures to introduce that subject, in however guarded a way, to the opprobrious title of ROMANIST. Now I take leave to call this *ultra Romanism*. For upon this principle, had St. James himself lived in these days,

Bishop Bull would doubtless have been honoured with him for his associate. But the charge now brought against the Bishop appears to be of a far more serious nature, since it admits of no compromise, and must be either formally proved, or as formally withdrawn; and we trust this will be done with as little dishonour to the accusing party as may be. The learned Bishop is brought into court then under the character of an *intrepid controversialist*; whilst his intrepidity is made to consist in his maintaining, in opposition to the eleventh article and the Homily on Salvation, that man is justified by *works alone*, or by faith and works in conjunction; “for he asserts, (as his accuser proceeds,) that where St. Paul ascribes justification and salvation to faith alone, although he mentions faith alone, he means all those things besides, which are to follow.” On the supposition that Bishop Bull has said this, we ask, what has he said more than the Archdeacon himself has said, when, with the desire of exculpating himself from the accusation of treading Christian virtues under feet, he writes thus: “Let it not be said that we require nothing of Christians but *only faith*, because we teach that faith alone justifieth; whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being *always joined*, as indispensable mates in the man that is justified:” “or works being added as necessary duties required

at the hands of every justified person?" But we ask again, in what part of his writings has the Bishop said this? As the humble advocate of the Bishop, we demand a proof. But being satisfied that the Archdeacon will be at a loss to find one, we will inform him where a proof of the most unequivocal kind to the contrary purpose is to be found; and being morally certain that the Bishop could not contradict himself, we shall leave the passage in question for the Archdeacon to digest at his leisure, when he may have occasion to review the bold charge which he has thought proper to bring forward. The passage referred to is to be met with in what is styled the *Epilogus*, or concluding chapter of the last dissertation, in which the ground generally taken by the learned Bishop is marked out, and his arguments as it were brought into a focus, and briefly summed up; here, therefore, we might expect to find the mind of the Bishop on the several parts of his subject clearly developed;—a writer's last words upon any subject being those, upon which, as most deliberately considered, most dependance is to be placed. Speaking of the eleventh article, the Bishop writes thus. "To guard her sons more particularly against the error of good works in the matter of justification, our sacred Mother, the Church of England, provided this article." The Bishop then proceeds to recite the article

in question, and then thus goes on: "The words," says the Bishop, "are clear, on account of the merit of our Lord, but not on account of our own works and deservings. It is added, indeed, *per fidem*, because faith or confidence in the merits of Jesus Christ is, in the first place, necessary to the justification of men, joined with a perfect renunciation of our own merits; for without this due humiliation of mind, it cannot on any account be possible, that our works, whatever value they might have in other respects, could so please God as to be available to salvation." The Archdeacon then, on the supposition that this luminous passage has not, through his *cursor*y reading of the Bishop's works, totally escaped him, must have thought proper, in support of his desperate cause, to translate, "*meritorum nostrorum perfectâ abrenuntiatione*," into "*a man's being justified by works alone, or by faith and works in conjunction*." It must not be omitted what the Bishop had before said in this same chapter upon this same subject. "In the first place," says the Bishop, "that most pernicious error of the Papists, about the merit and dignity of good works, as entitled to a heavenly reward, is so horrible a one as not to be heard or thought of; certain it is, that whoever ascribe such merit to works, scarcely deserve the name of Christians."

The reader shall now be left to place the Arch-

deacon's unqualified charge before him, and judge for himself.

I proceed : The Archdeacon says, that works as necessary duties are required in every justified person, he will not therefore be justified without them. The Bishop says, that under the expression, *faith alone*, were meant to be included all those things beside, which are to follow, as necessary to render that faith perfect, or in any degree available to the salvation of the party. We must acknowledge ourselves to be unpossessed of a sufficient degree of discrimination, to discover a difference between the two cases. But such will be, more or less, the inconsistency of any man's language, who acts under the direction of two different principles. What in a Calvinistic hour he zealously builds up, in an hour of more sober and better informed judgment, he seldom fails to pull down. And thus, I fear, it will continue to be, till he assumes resolution to break the charm by which he at present appears to be bound. But to get rid of all unnecessary quibbling upon the language of our article, it may be said, and truly said, that man, strictly speaking, is justified neither by faith alone, nor by works, and by the one just as much as the other. But as the article in question expressly says, "he is accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith," or rather *through faith*, *δια, per*. Faith

and works are but means conducive to a certain end; and though as fruits of divine grace, and as such powerful in the sight of God, still they do not justify *in themselves*. But being acts of the renewing Spirit on the soul of fallen man, they bring him by degrees into a fit condition to be finally justified by a gracious God, through the merits of his dearly-beloved Son. Such is the established process of justification under the Gospel covenant, as originally sealed to every regularly baptized Christian, at baptism, and subsequently confirmed to him on every faithful renewal of that covenant at the Lord's Table.

What remains to be said further on the present subject, shall relate more immediately to the indecorous charge brought against the respectable Bishop as an "*intrepid controversialist*," by maintaining, in opposition both to the Article and Homily, "*that man is justified by works alone, or by faith and works in conjunction*." Now we ask, in what part of the Bishop's writings is the above obnoxious position to be found? We profess to be unacquainted with it. To substantiate his unqualified charge, it is incumbent upon the Archdeacon to produce it: and when he has produced it, we shall be prepared to meet him upon it. The Bishop no where says that a man is justified *exclusively by works*. But his position is, that no one under the Gospel dispen-

sation must expect to be justified by a faith that is not *made perfect* by works. And that this is the true unadulterated doctrine of Scripture we are prepared to maintain. In the mean time we state briefly, that the object the Bishop had in view was to explain the sense in which the words of the eleventh article were meant to be taken, in opposition to those who, taking advantage of the open language of the Reformers, had abused it to the purposes of licentiousness. Had the Reformers foreseen that the unguarded language of the eleventh article would have led to such unwarrantable abuse, they would, it is probable, have guarded against it in a way somewhat similar, perhaps, to that which the Bishop himself has adopted; not by proceeding to the opposite extreme into which the Archdeacon seems desirous of pushing the Bishop, by telling Christian disciples that "*they were to be justified by faith alone* ; but that this faith in the merits of Christ, by which they might expect to be justified, was not to be faith alone *exclusive of good works*;" but a faith made perfect by those works, which the Archdeacon expressly acknowledges, as "*necessary duties in every justified person.*"

To what then does this dispute about words made use of in the premises tend, when both controversialists agree in the same conclusion, but "to multiply words without knowledge?" Thus the Archdeacon appears to have shot his

arrow over the house, and heedlessly wounded his brother. He shall be at liberty, however, without fear of advantage being taken against him, to take up his arrow again, and return it to its quiver. We seek not *contention* but *conviction*. Since both parties, if they would preserve the character of dutiful sons of the same venerable mother, must be agreed in the words of the article under consideration, "that we are accounted righteous *only* for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works and deservings;" consequently, no works were intended to be excluded by the article in question, but those which had for their object the *merit* of the parties concerned in them.

It may now be expected that our thoughts should be directed for a moment at least to that passage in the Bishop's writings which has drawn upon him this indecorous charge from the Archdeacon's pen. We have read the passage with attention: and as it strikes us, it must have passed through a very perverted medium, to justify in the least the conclusion which the Archdeacon has drawn from it. Judgment shall be with the reader. The passage in question commences with a critical remark from the learned Grotius; to which the Bishop thus replies: "*Neque enim negamus nos, fidem alicubi ab Apostolo a charitate ejusque operibus aperte*

distingui ; affirmamus solummodo Paulum, cum fidei solæ justificationem ac salutem tribuit, licet fidem solam nominet, cætera etiam omnia intelligere, quæ fidem sequi solent. Idque ex iis ipsis locis, ubi fidem a charitate distinguit, liquere credimus. Cum enim ibi fidem a charitate disjunctam apud Deum nihil quicquam valere affirmet Apostolus, hinc solidè colligimus, ipsum, cum aliàs fidei fere omnia tribuit, fidem intelligere verà charitate informatam ; alioquin enim sibi ipsi contradiceret."

Now to every candid reader the above passage will not, it is presumed, be thought to bear the Archdeacon out in his charge against the Bishop. He accuses the Bishop of maintaining, in opposition both to the article and homily, "*that man is justified by works alone, or by faith and works in conjunction.*" Now does the Bishop say this in the passage under consideration? All that I gather from the passage is, that it is the object of the Bishop to give his reader to understand that when the Apostle attributes justification to faith alone, he means that *perfect* faith, which being accompanied with its correspondent fruits, is thereby available with God : and this the Bishop does on the authority of St. Paul himself, where he says, " Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but *faith which worketh by love* : " that faith, consequently, which worketh not by love, availeth

nothing ; and such was the idea meant to be left on the minds of the Bishop's readers. But such an idea is grating to a Calvinistic ear. The burden of the Archdeacon's complaint against the Bishop appears to turn principally upon this, that the Bishop does not quite speak the Archdeacon's language. The Archdeacon will have salvation by *faith* only, to the *entire exclusion* of all good works. Works must not be so much as mentioned in any way ; and because the Jews were told by the Apostle, that they were to be saved by Christ, without the works of the *Law*, therefore Christians are to be saved by him without the works of the *Gospel*. And when the Archdeacon shall have succeeded in making the two cases to be strictly parallel, I will readily become a convert to his divinity. Till then, I shall be content to read my Bible in its plainest letter ; where it tells me that Christians "are created in Christ Jesus unto good works ; and that having been bought with a price, we are called upon to glorify God in our bodies, and in our spirits, which are his : " and that one great object of Christ's giving himself for us was, "that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," and "that at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, God will render to every man according to his deeds : " without waiting for any new edition

of that valuable book, with an *index expurgatorius* from Geneva.

In fact, this controverted subject of faith and works hath taken up more time, and wasted more paper, than need to have been expended upon it, had the ideas of disputants been less confused, and their minds more disposed for conviction. Since the subject considered simply in itself appears capable of being brought within the narrowest compass. There are but two ways by which man can be justified; namely, either by his own deservings, or by the merits of another, in which he may be permitted to have an interest. Could man have been justified by his own deservings, the Gospel covenant had been a needless institution. But though man, in his present fallen state, must be justified by the merits of another, if justified at all, still he will not be justified by those merits, unless by a renewal unto holiness he has been brought into a fit condition to be benefited by them. Thus, whilst fallen man can in no sense be justified *by* his own works, still, in a certain sense, he will not be justified *without them*, that is, without those works which, under the Gospel covenant, the grace of God would, had he not been wanting to himself, have enabled him to perform. The distinction between the *meritorious title* to salvation, and the *due qualification* for its possession, being, it may be pre-

sumed, too clear, to be necessarily pointed out. To guard against the dangerous extremes of *presumptuous confidence* on the one hand, and *licentious conduct* on the other, was the object the good Bishop had before him ; with the view of leaving the Christian disciple in that salvable condition, into which it was the benevolent design of the grace of God in Christ to bring him. Thus all boasting is taken away from man ; while the whole work of his salvation is attributable to that gracious Being from whom it originated, and by whom it is carried on to completion ; “for of Him, and to Him, and through Him, are all things, to whom be glory for ever.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE reader, it is probable, by this time, may think, and I might, perhaps, be inclined to think with him, that sufficient has been already advanced to prove to demonstration the *baseless* foundation, upon which, the gross misrepresentation of Bishop Bull's professional character has been raised ; did not some more particular proof to the same effect still remain to be produced ; and which it would be doing injustice to the Bishop were it to be withheld. Our only surprise, on this occasion, is, (if we could be surprised at any extent to which party system may carry even well-intentioned men,) that a person of the Archdeacon's mental acquirements, and apparent discrimination of ideas, should not be able to see clearly the strong ground upon which Bishop Bull, as a Protestant Divine of the soundest cast, meant to take his stand ; ground which, the more it is examined by Scripture and reason, the more firm it will be found. The Bishop's great crime appears to have been, that he could not contemplate the evangelical

system through a *Calvinistic* medium ; and therefore he has been held comparatively *cheap*, in the judgment of all Calvinistically disposed. He has by some, indeed, been considered as a mere *legal* divine, and as one totally unacquainted with the *true saving* spirit of the Gospel. But much as we regard sober Calvinists in themselves, because among them, we are persuaded, some of the most pious and most conscientious men have been to be found ; (for, thank God, we can respect the men, at the same time that we lament, what appears to us to be their error ;) still we do not give them credit for pre-eminence in judgment ; much less for that to which they are so apt to consider themselves entitled, a claim to infallibility. In fact, we consider them, generally speaking, as men but *partially* informed ; as must, more or less, be the case with all who confine their minds to one particular system. And we cannot help thinking, that if the Archdeacon had been as desirous to find the Bishop *right*, as he apparently has been to find him *wrong*, it is impossible that he could have read through the Bishop's writings, though ever so *cursorily*, without finding sufficient in them to prove to an honest mind, that the Bishop was by no means the unsound divine which he has represented him to be. Indeed, had the Archdeacon but given himself the trouble to read through, with attention, what the Bishop calls his "*Epilogus*," or the general

winding-up of his important subject, to which common curiosity might have directed him, it is impossible but that the Archdeacon must have considered, that the picture which he has thought proper to give of the Bishop, certainly possesses in it more of a *caricature*, than of a faithful portrait. For surely nothing can be more revolting to unprejudiced truth, than that a writer, who had employed the powers of his mind, in opposing what he emphatically calls "*perniciocissimus error pontificiorum*," that most pernicious error of the Papists, respecting human merit as constituting the ground of man's justification, should be exhibited before the public as a strenuous advocate for that very cause which he had laboured so earnestly to discountenance; not indeed by crying down with the *enthusiastic Solifidian* good works *altogether*, as absolutely incompatible with the doctrine of salvation by grace, but by giving to Christian works their proper degree of weight in the Gospel scale, sufficient for the purpose which they were designed to answer; not that degree of weight which might lead to any encroachment upon that meritorious cause to which alone fallen man was to look for salvation, but that weight which might induce him to adorn the doctrine of his Saviour in all things; and to glorify God both in his body and his spirit, on the consideration that he had been bought with a price.

It is, indeed, hardly to be conceived, with what a degree of horror good works are considered by those enthusiasts, who have not learnt their religion in the proper school. Good works are such abomination to them, that they cannot bear the sound of them in their ears. I remember meeting some years since with a *novellish* sort of publication, written, doubtless, with a very pious intention, by one of our Puritan lay-divines; in which the reader was confidently told, that the most abandoned prostitute that walked the streets, was in a much safer condition with respect to her future state, than a woman of the most correct character, because she had *no good works* to build upon. Where this spurious divinity was picked up is certainly not worth an enquiry; it is sufficient that no such is to be found in the Bible.

But this glorious plan of redemption, the offspring of the divine counsels, for the salvation of fallen man, has been, through the deception of the evil one, distorted in two different ways; by enthusiasm on the one hand, and libertinism on the other: and thereby, though by a different extreme, rendered, in a great degree, ineffectual to its intended purpose. Deeply lamenting that perversion of sound principles which had in his time disgraced, and, in a degree, outraged the cause of genuine Christianity, it was the Bishop's purpose to bring this im-

portant subject to its proper *scriptural bearing*, and to the standard of sound unsophisticated reason; thereby vindicating the glory of God, at the same time that he rendered justice to man, as a reasonable, and consequently, responsible being.

Whilst with respect to the charge brought forward in so unqualified a manner, in which the Bishop is accused, in contradiction both to Article and Homily, of maintaining the doctrine of “man’s *being justified by works alone*,” it cannot be supposed that the Archdeacon should know that such a pregnant testimony to the contrary, as that contained in the following unequivocal passage, remains upon record. For the satisfaction of the English reader, I thus translate freely from the Bishop’s original. “It is diligently to be observed, what testimonies of our Church we have heretofore adduced, that they have been all taken out of the Homily on the Justification or Salvation of Man; to which Homily, with a view to the more full explanation of the eleventh article, our Church professedly refers us. What room is there then for doubt? The implicit inquiry relates to the sense of the article. In the article itself we are referred to the Homily on the Salvation of Man. What does the Church there say? She again and often professes, and in words the most clear and explicit, that in the article in question, her

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only intention was to oppose or enter her protest against the *merit* of good works, (but be it observed, not against the works themselves.) Nor is it unworthy our observation, that out of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, thirty-eight of them are proposed simple and without any explanation annexed to them; but this only one, about the justification of man, is delivered not without this caution expressed, that a fuller and more detailed explanation of it might be sought for in the Homily on Justification. Indeed, our most holy fathers were particularly anxious, lest any one, by too superstitiously adhering to the words in the article, (*by faith only,*) might extort from it a *dangerous* sense, which, to our grief, we have seen this day done by too many. It is therefore wonderful with what nicety and caution our most excellent and wise men proceeded, that their doctrine of justification *by faith alone*, might not be received by any one in a sense different from what we have just explained; namely, that by it *all presumption of our own merits being entirely removed*, the whole merit and honour of our salvation might be fully ascribed to the grace of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

The good Bishop having thus placed the Christian building on the only sound foundation, the love of God in Christ, proceeds, in the following section, to give a short but distinct ac-

count of the nature of the *Evangelical covenant*, and the *conditions* which have been annexed to it; by the performance of which in faith and sincerity man can alone expect to be benefitted by the gracious covenant in question. After briefly observing that *Popish merit* on the one hand and *Solifidianism* as connected with *Antinomianism* on the other, have proved the Scylla and Charybdis upon which the vessel of the Church has at different times suffered shipwreck, the Bishop proceeds to point out in *what* sense good works are to be considered necessary to salvation. "They are necessary," says the discriminating Bishop, "as the *condition* annexed to the Evangelical covenant, to which, by the mere grace of God, justification is promised, and by the love of God in Christ, the gate of heaven has been opened to fallen man upon the most equitable terms, contained in what is known under the title of the *Evangelical covenant*." This gracious covenant was freely entered into by the three great Persons in the Godhead in favour of fallen man, who had nothing more to do with it, as a covenant, than to receive with gratitude the benefit designed to be conveyed by it. The parties who graciously entered into this covenant, have, for the comfort of fallen man, condescended to represent themselves as bound by it. "If we confess our sins, God is *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins." God's

faithfulness must have reference to his covenanted engagement, as must his *justice* to his righteous fulfilment of it. "But from this great work of justification, all human works, even our faith, in a word, every thing that belongs to man, is necessarily excluded. They are totally different from justification, which is the act of God alone, and are only intended to point out the mode by which salvation is to be obtained: 'ad salutis impetrationem omnino pertinent.' But the *condition* annexed to this Evangelical covenant, as it relates to man, is necessary to be fulfilled; for the merit of Christ has no place here, for Christ has not merited for man, that his righteousness should be so imputed to us, that we might thereby be absolved from the condition of the Evangelical covenant; but he has *so merited* for us, that under the most equitable condition, we might be made partakers of eternal salvation: but he has moreover merited for us the grace, by which alone we are enabled to perform the condition required." This interesting detail of the Evangelical covenant, the good Bishop thus strikingly concludes. "It were greatly to be wished, that this distinction between the *procuring of salvation*, (*impetrationem salutis*,) and the application of it, (how obvious soever it may appear,) was rightly understood by theologians in general; for, were these things rightly understood, many

and great disputes in this controversy would easily be done away with." One additional evidence shall suffice : and it shall be given in the Bishop's own language, as it thereby precludes all possibility of doubt or reply. " *Catholica doctrina est, fidem, pœnitentiam, spem, dilectionem, cæterasque virtutes et bona opera nostra, nequaquàm per se aut merito suo ad id valere, ut quis justificetur ; hoc est, a peccatis suis priùs commissis absolvatur, a Deo tanquàm justus tractetur ; ipsique ad salutem vitamque eternam gratus et acceptus habeatur ; sed illud totum unicè debere meritoria Jesu Christi satisfactioni, utpote quâ solâ gratiosum fœdus (quod Evangelium vocatur) impetratum ac sanctum fuerit juxta quod sub æquissimis illis conditionibus, justificationis ac salutis participes fieri possimus.*" — *Examen Censuræ. Animad. xi.*

Having thus placed the Archdeacon and the Bishop in a *juxta* position to each other, with the charge of the former on the one hand, and the clear exposition of the Bishop's sentiments, so far as relates to the point at issue, on the other, we leave this important subject, not without some degree of confidence, to the judgment of the reader.—I should here have taken leave of the Archdeacon of Ely's publication, so far at least as the respectable character of Bishop Bull may be supposed to be affected by it, had not a

particular doctrine, which appears to be a favourite one with the Archdeacon, struck me as open to very considerable objections. My reader will not perhaps be surprised at finding that I allude to the doctrine of *Christ's imputed righteousness*, which, when taken in an unqualified sense, is certainly obnoxious to very unsound interpretation. The doctrine of "*Christ's imputed righteousness*," in that extravagant sense in which it is too often taken, is one of the main pillars of Calvinism. It originated, it is supposed, with the Reformer of Geneva, since it is particularly suited to his narrow system of salvation. Now it is well known, that some contention was manifested among the English exiles at Frankfort, relating to a somewhat nearer conformity of their religious service to the established standard of Geneva. Probably this Calvinistic tendency travelled into this country with the worthy, though unfortunate exiles on their return after the Marian persecution, and that it by degrees insinuated itself into the established divinity of this country. It particularly flourished in the century immediately succeeding to that in which our Reformation took place. But nothing can more decidedly prove that it was not the *original* doctrine of the Church of England, than that our *first* Reformers appear to have known nothing of it. Had they known and acknowledged this subsequently prevalent doctrine, when they were

engaged in laying the platform of our Church discipline, it must have made its appearance. What is now made of such essential importance in the salvation of fallen man, could not possibly have passed unnoticed in the eleventh article. But in this article not a single hint is given of Christ's imputed righteousness as constituting the important groundwork of man's salvation. Here this important doctrine, if it had been entertained at all by our *first* Reformers, ought to have appeared. Whereas all that we are given to understand from our Reformers on this subject is, "that we are accounted righteous before God *only* for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and that "we are justified by faith *in those merits*," without a single hint being given about the *righteousness of Christ being imputed to us*; which could not possibly have been the case, had such a doctrine been regarded, as it now is, by those of the Calvinistic persuasion, as an essential doctrine of the Gospel system. And what still tends to confirm our judgment with respect to the ignorance of our *first* Reformers on the subject of Christ's imputed righteousness, considered as the ground of man's salvation, is the circumstance, that in the Homily referred to by them as affording a more particular explanation of the eleventh article, not a single word is to be found on that important point, upon which, according to Calvinistic in-

terpretation, the salvation of man is supposed to turn. What is particularly to be remarked in the Homily in question, being the earnest solicitude of our *first* Reformers for the vindication of our Saviour's just pretension to being the only meritorious cause of man's salvation, to take away all merit from man's works, and to ascribe the whole merit and deserving of our justification to *Christ only*, by way of setting forth the true glory of Christ, and beating down the vain glory of man. "Whoever," say our first Reformers, "denieth this, is not to be accounted for a Christian man." "For our justification (say they) we must trust only to God's mercy, and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ our High Priest on the Cross." "Our justification being brought about by the only merits and sufferings of Jesus Christ, He having suffered death to justify us, and to restore us to life everlasting."—But our excellent Reformers, it is well known, had a different error in view. Their primary object was to counteract the then prevailing doctrine of *Popish merit*, which had been carried so far, as, in a degree, to destroy the very foundation of Christianity. In vindicating, however, the honour of Jesus Christ as the sole meritorious cause of man's salvation, they appear not to have been aware at the time of the abuse to which, through the deception of the evil one, the doctrine of salvation by Christ alone would

be carried. They reasoned, and they reasoned rightly, that the true way to honour Jesus Christ was to rely upon his merits only ; the true way to dishonour him was to connect any thing with his fulfilment of the divine will, under the idea that man could make the foundation which God had laid in his Son more sure. They wisely considered that the Creator did not stand in need of the counsel and help of his creatures : and that Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever, finished, without the aid of men or angels, the work which his Father gave him to do ; and consequently that He is the only Mediator with the Father. To this established doctrine of the possibility of salvation for man, derivable only from the merits of a crucified Saviour, insensibly attached the obvious corollary, of man's being able to do nothing for himself ; and hence, his condition under the covenant of grace became distinguished by many of the divines of the day, by what might be considered to be the elegant description of his being clothed with Christ's righteousness, considered as *his own* ; in other words, of his having Christ's righteousness *imputed* to him. For it may be observed, without any reflection on their general character, that a taint of Calvinism pervaded the writings of some of our most spiritual divines, in the times to which we now allude.

On the ground then of the doctrine of our

Church, as laid down by our *first* Reformers in our Article and Homily, I conclude, and I trust, from legitimate premises, that through the benefit of Christ's righteousness in fulfilling the law, and his obedience unto death; fallen man, though a sinner in himself, was accounted, or acknowledged, as righteous in the sight of God, for the sake of what his beloved Son had done and suffered for him: and that this constituted the righteousness of God in Christ, in which St. Paul was so desirous of being found; even that species of righteousness which God, for the sake of his beloved Son, "in whom he was well pleased," engaged to accept under the Gospel covenant. But the difference between fallen man's having the benefit of what Christ did and suffered for him in the flesh, carried to his account, and Christ's *personal* righteousness being imputed to him *as his own*, must be too striking to escape the notice of the least discriminating mind. For if Christ's *personal* righteousness is to be *imputed* to man as *his own*, he must of course become equally righteous with Christ himself. But where there is no transgression, the law pronounces no sentence; and Christ, we are assured, knew no sin; Jesus Christ, therefore, did not die for himself. St. Paul says decidedly, "that man is justified *by his blood*," Rom. v. 9. He was contented, indeed, to be treated as a sinner for man, by being made a sin-

offering for him, at the same time that he was confessedly "the Lamb of God, without spot or blemish."—If man then is to have Christ's *personal* righteousness imputed to him as *his own*, all future judgment must necessarily, for obvious reasons, be superseded. A circumstance which, being in direct contradiction to divine revelation, cannot be true.

The importance of this subject will, I trust, be my excuse with the reader, for his being detained somewhat longer upon it. The same great deceiver, whose object from the beginning it has been to frustrate God's gracious designs in favour of his creature man, who, with that view, perverted the original command delivered to Adam in Paradise, and thereby procured his fall, has since been employed in inducing fallen man to put a false construction on that covenant of grace, through which his restoration to immortality was, through divine wisdom, to be eventually secured. It was ordained, in the divine councils, that Christ was to fulfil the law. For this purpose he had a body prepared for him, that in that body he might do his Father's will. Christ fulfilled the law, under which he was born, to the letter: the typical part of it, in its most important sense, by his propitiatory sacrifice on the cross; the moral part of it, by his personal righteousness; being the Lamb without spot, knowing no sin, and no guile being found in his

mouth; the law, therefore, had no charge to bring against him. Indeed had such been the case, he could not have been the propitiation for the sins of others. But Christ fulfilled the law in his character of the *second Adam*, as man's representative; thereby taking away the curse of it from man, "bearing our sins in his own body upon the tree," and thus "by his sacrifice for sin, condemning sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us;" in other words, that we might, through the Holy Spirit, be made that righteousness, in conformity with the gracious conditions of the evangelical covenant, which God had pledged himself to accept in the Son of his love; not as the meritorious price of man's salvation, but his necessary qualification for it.

Here we are permitted to have a glimpse of that great mystery of godliness which angels desire to look into. The divine attributes were to be reconciled. The justice and mercy of God must meet together in the atonement for the sins of man. In reason it was not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should make atonement for the sins of a responsible being. Here all human reason was at a stand. This was that "*dignus vindice*," a case of that difficult nature that none but God himself could solve. The divine law was to be satisfied, at the same time that the divine mercy towards the breakers of it was to

be displayed, and the kingdom of heaven reopened to all believers. To effect this great purpose God prepared for his Son a body, that in that body he might do the will of God; that having in his own devoted person fulfilled the law, he might become that full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice with which God *was well pleased*; by virtue of which, every redeemed sinner, who, through grace, made a proper advantage of his regenerated condition under the Gospel, by "walking after the Spirit, and not after the flesh," might be a partaker with Christ in glory.

Through the unhappy perversion of this gracious design some Christians have been led to think, that Christ so fulfilled the moral law for man, as to free him from all obligation to it; on the ground that Christ's righteousness was not only to be *imputed* to them, but to be, in a *literal* sense, *their own*. Whereas Christ's righteousness must have been his *personal* righteousness; that righteousness, by which, in his human character, he fulfilled the law, and by virtue of his obedience and death upon the cross, procured for man those gracious terms of acceptance through him, on the plan of the evangelical covenant. For this purpose, as it has been above observed, God prepared for Christ a body, that, as the *second Adam*, he might fulfil the law for him whom he represented; that "*as the righteous servant of God*," as the Messiah is de-

scribed in the sublime language of the Prophet, he might "justify many." But Christ, in his divine character, could not be the *righteous servant* of God, because he was *equal* with God. It was, therefore, in his human character, as the man Christ Jesus, that he became God's "*righteous servant*;" for the completion of the great mystery of human redemption. It was by the righteousness of Christ then, *in this sense*, fulfilling the law, in conformity, it is presumed, with the gracious plan, originally laid down in the divine councils, that fallen man has obtained the unspeakable benefit of being placed under the gracious dispensation of the Gospel, as an heir of salvation through Jesus Christ.—"For what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit."—*In this sense*, the righteousness of the law has been fulfilled by Christ for those who "walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." The object of Christ's giving himself for man being that he might "redeem him from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Whilst against all those who have not been brought by the Holy Spirit into this purified condition, the law of God still remains in

force. The mistake on this important subject may, I conceive, be traced to a want of just discrimination between the personal righteousness of Christ, in his representative character as the *second Adam*, by virtue of whose fulfilment of the law the sinner man is accounted righteous before God; and the personal righteousness of man, in his own character of the redeemed sinner, upon the gracious terms of the evangelical covenant; independent of which, he can have no title to the benefit of what a loving Saviour has done for him. The personal righteousness of Christ then, as the *second Adam*, and the personal righteousness of man in his redeemed state, are perfectly distinct from each other; but both essentially necessary to the final salvation of the fallen sinner. The former being that righteousness by which *God's righteous servant* justifies many; the latter, that righteousness, in conformity with the conditions of the Gospel covenant, upon which the benefit of Christ's righteousness has been ultimately suspended. Whilst it is upon the confusion of these two kinds of righteousness that the Calvinistic error of Christ's imputed righteousness, considered as *man's own*, appears to have been built.

This subject has been elegantly illustrated by Bishop Horne, in his luminous comment on the two following verses of the eighty-fifth Psalm.
 " ' Mercy and truth are met together, and righ-

teousness and peace have kissed each other, Truth shall spring out of the earth, and righteousness shall look down from heaven.' These four divine attributes parted at the fall of Adam, and met again at the birth of Christ. Mercy was ever inclined to serve man, and peace not to be his enemy. But truth exacted the performance of God's threat, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die;' and righteousness could not but give to every one his due. Jehovah must be true in all his ways, and righteous in all his works." (The law which pronounced sentence had been fulfilled by God's *righteous servant*.) "Now there is no religion upon earth, except the Christian, which can satisfy the demands of all these claimants, and restore an union between them; which can shew how God's word can be true, and his work just, and the sinner, notwithstanding, find mercy, and obtain peace. 'Sacrifice and burnt-offering thou wouldest not; then said I, Lo, I come.' A God incarnate (the man Christ Jesus) reconciled all things in heaven and earth. When Christ appeared in our nature, the promise was fulfilled, and 'truth sprang out of the earth,' and now righteousness, 'looking down from heaven,' beheld in him every thing that she required; an undefiled birth, an holy life, an innocent death, a spirit and a mouth without guile, a soul and body without sin. She saw and was satisfied, and re-

turned to earth. Thus all the four parties met again in perfect harmony. Truth ran to mercy, and embraced her; righteousness to peace, and kissed her. And this could only happen at the birth of Jesus, in whom the tender mercy of God visited us, and who is the truth; who is made unto us righteousness, and who is our peace." See Bishop Andrews on these two verses in his Sermon.

But a respect for the Archdeacon calls on me to pay attention to what he has advanced on this delicate subject; respecting what has been called *Christ's imputed righteousness*; for a delicate subject it certainly is, in consequence of that discrimination, which to me appears necessary to ascertain its precise scriptural meaning. The Archdeacon shelters himself under the authority of Bishop Davenant, whom he represents as sufficient to convince every unprejudiced person, that the doctrine of imputed righteousness (in the sense, we presume, of the Calvinistic school) was never controverted or denied by any orthodox Protestant before his time. A quotation is then subjoined from Bishop Davenant's *Prælections*, to prove the above confident assertion. But assertion, we take leave to observe, is no proof. Had the Archdeacon brought forward the authority of fifty divines, in addition to that of Bishop Davenant, I should have made answer to him, that this circumstance prov

scribed in the sublime language of the Prophet, he might "justify many." But Christ, in his divine character, could not be the *righteous servant* of God, because he was *equal* with God. It was, therefore, in his human character, as the man Christ Jesus, that he became God's "*righteous servant*;" for the completion of the great mystery of human redemption. It was by the righteousness of Christ then, *in this sense*, fulfilling the law, in conformity, it is presumed, with the gracious plan, originally laid down in the divine councils, that fallen man has obtained the unspeakable benefit of being placed under the gracious dispensation of the Gospel, as an heir of salvation through Jesus Christ.—"For what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit."—*In this sense*, the righteousness of the law has been fulfilled by Christ for those who "walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." The object of Christ's giving himself for man being that he might "redeem him from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Whilst against all those who have not been brought by the Holy Spirit into this purified condition, the law of God still remains in

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Declamation in such a case is not to be taken for proof. We call upon the Archdeacon therefore to bring forward those texts which bear him out in the doctrine he so confidently assumes, and upon the strength of which he pronounces with such decision upon the orthodoxy of his brethren. Indeed, as so much, in the Archdeacon's opinion, depends upon the admission of this important doctrine, even no less than man's final salvation through the merits of Christ, it might surely have been expected, that in charity to his supposed uninformed brethren, the Archdeacon would not have contented himself with bare assertion, where nothing short of demonstrative proof, were it to be had, ought to have appeared. Failing, however, in receiving satisfaction on this head from the Archdeacon, we have been compelled to seek it elsewhere, and from Bishop Bull, (who appears to have examined this subject to the bottom, in his "Examen Censuræ," Animad. xi.) we satisfactorily learn, that no text confirmatory of this doctrine is to be found in Scripture. "Certain it is," says the Bishop, "the phrase of Christ's *imputed* righteousness is no where to be found in Scripture." It is a remarkable fact, that in the argumentative discussion of the divine method of restoring revolted man to a state of acceptance with God, it is frequently denominated the *righteousness of God*, whilst the term *Christ's righteousness* neither

occurs here or elsewhere in the sacred volume. Indeed, that what is deemed the active righteousness of Christ, is not the idea implied in the phrase "the righteousness of God," is evident from the consideration of its being Christ's righteousness, not as *God* but as *man*, which constituted Christ's personal righteousness in the flesh, both active and passive. It follows, then, that the two phrases of the righteousness of God and Christ's righteousness must mean two different things. And though Christ's *personal* righteousness cannot be imputed to man, for this would be not less an absurd than a blasphemous doctrine, still the *benefit* of that righteousness may be said to be imputed to him, or carried to his account by God the Father, in this sense, that the merits and death of his beloved Son have become available to man's acceptance with God, upon the conditions of the Gospel covenant; to which, previous to the establishment of that gracious covenant, fallen man had no pretensions. On this head Bishop Bull quotes a passage from a most learned man, which places this subject in the clearest light. "*Per Christi mortem et actiones impetratum jus omnibus uti volentibus; id jus suum facit qui vult, præviâ et comitante Christi ope, &c. Satisfactionem imputari qui dicunt, extra scripturam loquuntur, et obscure et improprie: namque immanent magis quam explicant. Quid ergo fit?*"

id quod *impetratum erat omnibus, nobis aptamus*. De fonte in publicum emisso bibimus; implemus conditionem sub quâ indulgentia principalis offertur. Vel ut iterum verbis viri verè Apostolici Clementis. Sanguis Christi pro nostrâ salute effusus Deo pretiosus fuit, ut propterea toti mundo pœnitentiæ gratiam concesserit. Hoc est, (continues the Bishop,) Christus per obedientiam suam usque ad mortem a Deo impetravit, ut quivis homo sub conditione delictorum veniam, vitamque adeo ac salutem æternam, consequatur; itaque conditione illâ præstitâ, *non ipsa Christi obedientia, sed remissio et salus; per obedientiam Christi* parta et acquisita, a Deo nobis donetur. Hic facilia et plana sunt omnia, quia vera."

The gracious covenant entered into in behalf of fallen man, the Bishop afterwards thus briefly describes. "Cum autem Deus in Christo non imputasse mundo peccata dicitur, sensus est: quod Deus cum jure potuisset toti mundo peccatis involuto parcere nolle (quemadmodum maximæ angelorum peccantium multitudini parcere omnino noluit,) adeoque universum genus humanum æternâ morte perire ac perdere funditus, (hoc scil. est sensu maxime proprio et summo gradu peccata imputari) parcere tamen voluerit, adeoque *per Christi mortem* propitius factus, pactum gratiæ cum hominibus inire, quo credentibus verèque pœnitentibus peccatorum re-

missio, atque æterna salus promitteretur; ut quod hic Apostolus dicit Deum propter Christi propitiationem non imputasse mundo peccata, idem planè sit, quod Apostoli symmista Clemens, (cujus verba placebunt etiam decies repetita,) dixit, Deum *propter effusum Christi sanguinem* toti mundo pœnitentiæ gratiam obtulisse."

I had flattered myself that this important subject might here remain at rest. But the Archdeacon appears to have taken such high ground upon it, that it would be doing injustice to him not to examine it. For if the ground which the Archdeacon takes is really strong enough to bear him, it ought to be strong enough to bear me; since we both read the same Bible; and the Bible must, after all, be the standard of judgment between us. The Archdeacon points out the Homily of Salvation, supposed to have been written by Cranmer himself, as particularly deserving his reader's attention. There are animals gifted by nature with such quick scent, that they can hunt out their game when it is perfectly hidden under ground. Calvinists appear to be possessed of a somewhat similar property, in their particular way; for they have a readiness in finding out their favourite doctrine in parts, where it is totally concealed and undiscoverable by all other observers. Now I can readily conceive that the Archdeacon, with a mind duly prepared for the purpose, clearly per-

ceives the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness pervading the whole tenor of the Homily in question ; whilst to a mind differently disposed no such doctrine appears in it. The Homily, according to the Archdeacon's extract from it, proceeds to inform us, that our blessed Saviour, besides his providing a ransom for us, "*fulfilled the law for us perfectly.*" Here we conceive lies the fallacy, which it requires proper discrimination to point out. Our Saviour, in the first place, *fulfilled the law perfectly*, in becoming himself the *antitype* to all the types exhibited under it, as prefigurative of his all-sufficient sacrifice upon the cross. Whereas our Saviour's *fulfilling the law perfectly*, in any other sense, was a necessary prelude to his being qualified to become a ransom for man. For had he not, as man's representative, *fulfilled the law perfectly*, he could not have taken away the curse of it. Man, therefore, had the benefit of Christ's representative righteousness imputed to him, or carried to his account, provided he took advantage of the gracious terms of the Evangelical covenant ; whilst Christ's *personal* righteousness necessarily remained *his own*. "So that," as the Homily proceeds, "Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him. He for them paid the ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him every true Christian man may be

called a fulfiller of the law, forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked, Christ's justice hath supplied." "Every true Christian *may be called* a fulfiller of the law ;" not that he actually is so ; which, if Christ's personal righteousness was considered *as his own*, he must have been ; but that the benefit of Christ's righteousness has been imputed to him by God, man being accounted righteous in God's sight, under the new covenant, for what Jesus Christ has done and suffered for him. In this sense we understand the Homily in question ; the sense, we trust, in which it was meant by Cranmer that it should be understood. For why, if it were meant to be understood in the Archdeacon's sense, why should not the Reformer have spoken as clearly and decidedly upon this subject, as he did upon that important one, of man's being to be saved *by faith* alone, instead of leaving it to be collected as it were by inference or *inuendo* ? As the salvation of man, according to the Archdeacon's opinion, turns upon the importance of Christ's personal righteousness being *imputed* to him, why, it may be asked, did not Cranmer, when employed in describing the nature of the Christian system, point out *decidedly* and *unequivocally* the doctrine before us to be an essential part of it ? But the Archdeacon proceeds,— "Although the terms *impute* or *imputation* do not occur in the preceding extract, it is obvious

the doctrine of *imputed righteousness* is most plainly and unequivocally represented in them." So then, if the Archdeacon cannot find the *words* of Cranmer with him, he is nevertheless determined to have the *thing*, or the particular doctrine, for which he contends. The Reformer must be left to speak for himself. But being indisposed for fruitless contention, I am ready to meet the Archdeacon half way, by admitting that the *benefit* of Christ's righteousness is *imputed* to fallen man, upon the conditions of the Gospel covenant; but not the *personal righteousness itself*. And I think myself borne out in this distinction by St. Paul himself, where, speaking with contempt of his own righteousness, which was of the law, he adverts to the consolatory circumstance of "his being found *in Christ*,"—(not, observe, to Christ's being found *in him*;) and of his having the righteousness of God by faith in Christ"—(not, observe, to Christ's righteousness in himself.) The fair conclusion, then, appears to be, that St. Paul was a stranger to this doctrine of *Christ's imputed righteousness*, since he professedly looked only to *God's righteousness in Christ*, or that covenanted plan of salvation, which God had been graciously pleased to enter into, on the contemplation of the merits and death of his beloved Son in the flesh, in whom He expressed Himself to be well pleased.—Proceed we to the next authority, that of Joseph

Mede, which appears to me to speak nothing in support of the Archdeacon's doctrine. The word *imputed* does indeed occur in the passage, and that appears to have satisfied the Archdeacon ; it shall therefore satisfy me.

The Archdeacon presses into his service a long extract from the writings of E. Sandys, Archbishop of York ; a passage, doubtless, satisfactory to himself, as speaking the Archdeacon's own sentiments. But as the Archbishop was not one of our Reformers, and had, moreover, imbibed the Calvinistic errors, every Minister of the Church of England will feel himself at liberty to measure the Archbishop's language by the standard of Scripture, and determine for himself accordingly. We acknowledge no *infallibility* in the Church of England. It would take me out of my way, were I to analyze the language of the Archbishop in the extract taken from his writings by the Archdeacon. To me it appears to be inconsistent with the general tenor of the Scripture, and by no means necessarily connected with the object the Apostle had before him, in his address to the bigotted Jews, which was simply to persuade them, that they could not be justified by their works under the legal covenant ; but that justification was to be obtained only through faith in Christ under the Evangelical dispensation. But it may be thought fair, that I should suffer the Archbishop to speak for him-

self. Thus, therefore, the Archbishop writes, as quoted by the Archdeacon in his Appendix.—“As God is perfect in himself, in his word, and in all his works, so we are exhorted to fashion ourselves according to that similitude and likeness, which is in Him, and to become perfect, as our Father in Heaven is perfect. There is a perfection which all believers have by *imputation*; whereof, although St. Paul doth not speak directly in this place, (2 Cor. xiii. 11.) yet, because it is the root of that perfection whereof he speaketh, it is not beside the purpose for me to speak of it. Unto every son of Adam it may justly be said, ‘*Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee.*’ But our sanctification being now defiled and polluted with sin, He which liketh no unclean or imperfect thing, if He look upon us as we are in ourselves, cannot but loath us. Wherefore, except the perfection of righteousness which is in Christ be *imputed unto us*, and accounted *as ours*, except in Him we be made the righteousness of God, how should we ever hope to appear without spot or wrinkle in the sight of God? He, therefore, is perfect, whose imperfection Christ with his perfection hath covered. This is a secret which because the Jews were not able to comprehend, therefore they stumbled. Israel sought perfection, and found it not. Wherefore? Because they sought it by the works

of the law and not by faith : they thought perfection by *imputation* to be a mere fancy. Contrariwise, the Gentiles, not following that perfection which is by the law, attained unto that which is by faith ; which St. Paul did so esteem, that although he were, concerning the righteousness which is in the law, unprovable, yet he thought all the labour and travail lost which he had spent about attaining perfection that way, and desired nothing more than to be found, not having his own perfection which was of the law, but that which was through the faith of Christ."

To the preceding extract from the sermons of Archbishop Sandys, I now subjoin a passage taken from the ingenious parable of the PILGRIM, written by him who was afterwards Bishop of Ely ; a man certainly by no means inferior to the Archbishop, either in spiritual character or professional attainments, who appears to have seen this imaginary doctrine of *Christ's imputed righteousness*, (in the sense we mean, in which it is taken by Calvinists,) precisely in the same point of view with Bishop Bull.

The author of the PILGRIM writes as follows : " But if I may be so bold as to interpose a question, I pray satisfy me why you call that the *Pilgrim's faith* ? is there any else besides ?— There is ; we meet in this world with a faith, more gallant, fine and delicate, than the plain and homely belief which I have described. A *modish*

and *courtly faith* it is, which sits still, and yet sets you in the lap of Christ. It passes under so many names, that I cannot stand to number them all now. It is called *a casting of ourselves upon Christ*, a relying on his merits, a shrouding ourselves under the robes of his righteousness; and though sometimes it is called a going to him for salvation, yet there is mystery in the business, that you may go, and yet stand still; you may cast yourself upon him, and not come to him; or if you take one little step, and be at the pains to come to him, the work is done, and you need not follow him. It is indeed a *resting*, not a *travelling* grace; and such a grand secret there is in it, that a man may rest before he stir a foot; he may lean on Christ, and approach no nearer to him than he was before; he may lay hold on him, and yet remain at the greatest distance from him. It will carry you to the end of your way, before you are at the beginning. The very first step of it, is to stay yourself, the beginning of its motion is to be at rest. Do you not see a strange enchantment in it already? Is it not a magical operation, as much beholden to strength of fancy and witchcraft of imagination? There is no juggling so artificial, whereby I could hope to hide the deceit, if I abused the world with these impostures. My own conscience, I mean, would indite me, and pronounce my condemnation, though I think, if the greatest part of the

men among us were to be judges, I need not fear their sentence against me. For the charm, I observe, is so powerful, and the fascination of such pleasure, that the numbers are not to be told, which are bewitched with it. The multitude goes in crowds to this *wide robe*: the voice of the people cry up this as the only way to Heaven. All the lewd men in the world are well contented to take this journey, which may be finished at one step; and to run this race, which may be accomplished in a breath, and for which the last breath in their body may as well serve as any other. There is no man but desires hold of Christ, and having heard that this is faith, do what you can, it is not possible to beat off his hands. There is not a soul so wicked, but it applies to itself *his righteousness*, and fancies all its sins to be covered therewith. It is the sweetest thing in the world to cast themselves into his arms, and expect not to go, but to be carried to Heaven. They rest on Him, and on Him only for salvation. They rest on Him solely for it, that they are loth to contribute any thing towards it. They would have Him take all the honour of the business to himself, and are desirous to do not so much as one good action, but to leave him to do all, and *impute* his doings to them. Thus they imagine themselves to be the only advancers of *free grace*, and they think there are none but they that set the crown upon

Christ's head. Such an admirable subtlety there is in this faith, that they can serve their own interest by it ; and yet seem all the while to be the best servants of Christ. They can promote their own desires, and yet sound aloud his glory. They can invade his rights as much as they list, and yet be thought the only persons that make it their care he should not be wronged.

“ These are the men who make the grace of God so free, that he leaves nothing for himself. The riches of it is so abundant towards them, that he gives away all his own right. He makes such liberal grants to these favourites, that there remains nothing as a duty to him. He takes such a great care of their pleasure, that he forgets his own ; and loves to let them have their will so much, that he suffers his own to be crossed for their sake. It is not He, it should seem, but they who rule the world. His will bends to their desires ; and since they have no mind to be good, they have invented a way that he may love them though they continue bad. He sees them not (as they fancy) in themselves, but in a disguise. They do not appear in their own colours, but in another's dress. He doth not behold them naked, but in the robes of Christ ; and though they have a world of sins, yet they think to have them hid, while he looks upon their *garments* and not upon *them*. And, indeed, so free is this grace, that he can have no

title to their obedience, but only their own gratitude. Since Christ's obedience is personally *imputed* to them, he cannot in justice require any at their hands. Since he hath performed the law in their stead, and made his righteousness *immediately theirs*; he cannot expect that they should perform it too, nor exact any righteousness of their own. For this would be to demand the same debt twice, and to call for the payment of a bond, which hath been already satisfied. I hope your soul will never enter into this secret, and follow the rabble in those groundless fancies. But you will rather put to your hands to pull down that idol of faith, which hath been set up with so much devotion, and religiously worshipped so long among us. That dead image of faith, which so many have adored, trusted in, and perished. I mean the notion which hath been so zealously advanced, how that believing is nothing else but a *relying on Jesus for salvation, a fiducial recumbency upon him, and casting ourselves wholly upon him and his merits, and an applying of his righteousness to our souls*. And if you throw all those other phrases after them, which tell us that it is a *taking of Christ, a laying hold of him, a closing with him, or an embracing of him*, you shall do the better, and the more certainly secure yourself from being deceived.

“To what purpose then is it to use these phrases, when there are better at hand, whereby we must

explain them? When things can be clearly expressed, why should we choose to speak them darkly? Especially since there can be no fruit of it, but only this, that men are longer before they understand us, and, perhaps, at the first hearing of what we speak obscurely, their minds are impressed with some such dangerous sense, which they form to themselves, that all our explications cannot blot it out. It is of great moment what men's souls are first imprinted withal. They will retain those words, and, perchance, think good to make the exposition according to their own fancy. Why should not our words, therefore, carry their own interpretation with them? and what should make us love to talk in such terms, that we cannot be certainly apprehended, unless we talk a great deal more? Let me, therefore, beseech you, as you love your soul, to be a follower of faithful Abraham, who was the founder of your order. Remember that such as he was, such must you be, if you hope to come to Jerusalem, and inherit the land of promise; and that in his example you meet with nothing earlier than this, that by faith, when he was called to go out into a place, 'which he should after receive for an inheritance, he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.' This was the first thing wherein his faith employed itself, and the last was like unto it. For when he was tried by God, he offered up his only be-

gotten son, who was to be the heir of that inheritance which was promised to him. From this *active* faith it is, no doubt, that all good Christians are called *faithful*, and not from a lazy recumbency on Christ for salvation, or the strongest application of his merits to their souls. If these were sufficient to make a person of that denomination, then we need no better character of a faithful servant or steward, (which the holy writings sometime mention) than such an one as follows. He is a person that relies upon his master's merits, and depends only on the worth and sufficiency of his Lord. He trusts in his goodness for a pardon of all his faults, and hopes he will esteem him a good servant, because he is a good master. He leans upon his arm, and clasps fast about him, and is resolved not to let him go till he have paid him his wages. He embraces him kindly, and hopes he will account him righteous because he is so himself. In a word, he applies to himself all the good works that his master has performed, and prays to be excused if he do not his business, because that his master can do it better. Is not this a very ridiculous description? Or would you be content to be thus served? Do not imagine then, that God will be served after this fashion, or that such an ill-favoured notion as this is the best that can be found to compose the definition of a true believer. But first do all that you can,

and then acknowledge yourself an unprofitable servant. Let it be your care to follow the work, and then rely only upon the goodness of your Lord to give you a reward. Be sure that you be inwardly righteous, and then no doubt the righteousness of Christ will procure you acceptance, and bring you to that happiness which you can no way deserve."

There is so much sterling good sense in the preceding extract, that I trust I shall be excused for trespassing upon my reader by its insertion. Whilst, should the Archdeacon be disposed to understand the author's language in the sense in which it was meant to be understood, he will, I trust, thank me for introducing him to his acquaintance, should he, perchance, at present be a stranger to him.

We proceed with the Archdeacon's references.—In Cranmer's Catechism and Noell's Catechism I can see nothing that is not perfectly reconcilable with the established doctrine of our Church, as laid down in the Article and Homily. The quotation from Hooker appears to me to be more against the Archdeacon than for him. It speaks of two sorts of righteousness, but both the *gift of God*. One, *without* us, by which we understand the righteousness of God in Christ; in other words, that righteousness which God is pleased to carry to our account, for the sake of what his incarnate Son has done and suffered for

us. In this sense Christ's righteousness is imputed to us. But this is only the benefit of Christ's personal righteousness, not the imputation of that personal righteousness to man as *his own*, for in such case the other righteousness which Hooker distinguishes under the title of the *righteousness within us*, must have been totally unnecessary, for under such circumstances Christ would be so *complete in us*, that we could stand in need of no additional righteousness to render us acceptable in the eyes of God.—That I may not be led to talk unadvisedly upon this sublime subject, I here beg leave to drop it. It is sufficient that the Archdeacon and myself are perfectly agreed upon the foundation of the Christian system, that “God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, and that in consequence man is saved through the merits of a crucified Redeemer, and not by any merits of his own.” As this constitutes the main ground on which our Reformation stands, all shades of difference between the Archdeacon and myself on this subject may be suffered to sink into the canvass, as they will not be able to obscure the prominent figures which occupy the foreground of the picture. It is, it is presumed, agreed on both sides, that the righteousness and blood of Christ alone absolve from sin, and can alone enable man to appear before God. This the Apostle considered to be his invaluable treasure, “in

comparison of which," says the Apostle, "I count all things but dross and dung, that I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." This righteousness is meritoriously imputed, or carried to the account of all true believers. "We are accounted righteous, (says our article,) for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The same Christ, who made satisfaction for man, tells us plainly, that the benefit of it is communicated only through man's *believing*. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever *believeth* on him should not perish." God is become reconcilable to man by the death of his Son Jesus Christ. But though God on the account of Christ has been made placable to human nature, which he is not to the angels in their fallen state, and hath condescended so far as to offer conditions of peace to man; still that Christ may become an effectual Redeemer, there must be the consent of both parties. God hath declared his consent to the evangelical covenant, by laying the punishment of man's sins upon Christ; whilst man is considered as declaring his, in submitting to the law of faith. But in consequence of that prevailing desire, originating in the pride of man, to seek for justification by his own works, it is with difficulty men are

brought to comply with the evangelical conditions of pardon. As pride, through the instigation of the evil one, at first aspired to make man as God, so does it tempt him still, under the same unhappy influence, to usurp the honour of Christ, in becoming, or at least presuming to become, his own Saviour.

This proud legal spirit first threw a stumbling-block in the way of the carnal Jews, who, as the Apostle says of them, "being ignorant of God's righteousness," that way of righteousness which had been established under the Gospel covenant; "and going about to establish their own righteousness, they submitted not to the righteousness of God." They were unhappily prepossessed with the principle, that life was to be obtained by their own works, because the express condition of their law was such. From the example of the Jews, we see what is the natural propensity of fallen man. Whilst it should not escape observation, that the Reformation had its rise in the same controversy with the Papists, which accompanied the first introduction of the Gospel into the world. "Salvation, through the merits of another, was, to the Jews, a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness;" but when the darkness which had long covered the earth began to break away before the light of the first Reformers, the great object, which these truly spiritual men had before them, was to de-

monstrate, from Scripture, that justification is alone to be obtained by a lively and purifying faith in the blood of Christ. A circumstance which appears to justify the conclusion, that the same Gospel which was first delivered by the Apostles, was revived by these excellent men ; and, consequently, that the Church, which was first built by the Apostles, was by them raised out of its ruins.

Here, and possibly to the satisfaction of my reader, I close my subject ; trusting, that sufficient has been advanced to vindicate the character of Bishop Bull, from those gross aspersions, which have been inconsiderately cast upon it. It remains only for me to apologize to the Archdeacon for any expressions which in the hurry of writing may have escaped me, should any such occur, which may have given offence, or hurt his feelings. It was certainly far from my intention that such should have been the case. For, as Calvinism, even supposing that the Archdeacon really belongs to that school, is not the standard by which I measure the *general* character of men, I am free to acknowledge that I respect the talents of the Archdeacon, and honour his zeal ; at the same time I cannot help thinking, that both might prove more advantageous to the general cause in which we are engaged, were they accompanied with a greater portion of Scriptural knowledge. As this, how-

ever, is a judgment in which I may be mistaken, no harm can be done. Whilst, with respect to Bishop Bull, I am clearly of opinion, that the Archdeacon could not fail to do justice both to Bishop Bull and himself, were he to make himself more acquainted with the learned Bishop's writings than he now appears to be ; for he would then find, to his satisfaction, that it was not the Bishop's object to *weaken* the Scriptural ground upon which the evangelical system stands, but really to *add strength to it* ; by clearing away those *funguses*, which, in length of time, had grown round the root, and thereby weakened the strength of the parent trunk : or, to speak without a figure, by counteracting those dangerous errors, which an unguarded exposition of the Christian doctrine had unhappily generated, to the destruction of that truly spiritual object, which the preaching of the Gospel was intended to promote. And this in a way, it is presumed, to give satisfaction to every candid and considerate mind, by bringing the points at issue to be tried by the standard of Scripture and reason ; the only standard by which such points can be decidedly determined.

If I have dwelt upon this particular part of my subject longer than may be deemed necessary, some allowance will, I trust, be derived from the consideration, that I have, for a long

series of years, been connected with a manufacturing parish, in which the seeds of erroneous doctrine have been so profusely scattered by a colony of Calvinistic Baptists, as to bid defiance to the labours of the most zealous Churchman effectually to eradicate. Added to this circumstance, it has been my lot to have had the doctrine of Christ's *imputed righteousness* unaccompanied with due qualification, preached over my head for succeeding months to an ignorant congregation, nine parts in ten of whom, I had reason to be persuaded, left the Church with what appeared to them to be a most comfortable idea, that Christ's righteousness must be fully sufficient; that he having done all for them, they had, of course, nothing to do for themselves. This doctrine constitutes the essence of Calvinism; which teaches its votaries, that being once justified they must be always justified; that being in the number of God's elect, they can never finally fall away from grace, and may, therefore, comfort themselves with the assurance of salvation; upon the idea that God's purposes, which are, of course, considered to be in their favour, cannot be defeated. A doctrine, of which the great deceiver, with all the appetites and passions of human nature on his side, will, as he ever has done, take full advantage; since experience has proved it to be a doctrine which

has seldom failed, more or less, to prove ministerial to licentious practice *. But though Jesus

* A conversation to the following effect took place in the vestry between the Minister of a country parish and his Curate, after hearing a strong discourse delivered by the latter, on the subject of "*Christ's imputed righteousness*."—"Well; my good Sir, you have given us a very strong discourse this morning upon a very interesting but delicate subject: a subject which has cost me much thought, and requires much nice discrimination. Now, although we may possess very *correct* ideas on subjects ourselves, still should our hearers, in consequence of some unguarded language, carry away *incorrect* notions out of the Church; with the best intentions to do good, we may prove instrumental in doing evil, which it may never be in our power to counteract. Pray, have you ever read the works of Bishop Bull?" "No," was the answer. "Then," continued the Minister, "let me recommend him to your attention. Persuaded I am, after you have read him, you will make some considerable alterations in this morning's discourse, before you preach it again. You know, my good Sir, as well as myself, the immoral state of this parish. You know that of twelve girls who come to be married, full the major part of them are in a condition, in which no decent young woman ought to be in a Christian parish. You know that a doctrine prevails in this parish, that Christ having done *all* for us, we have nothing left to do for ourselves. Now, you have taken considerable pains to press upon your hearers the importance of Christ's righteousness; but pray do not forget to impress upon my people the importance of *their own*. Should we find that they become proud of it, and that the conceit of their *own self-sufficiency* is carrying them away, it will then be time for us to pull the *check-string*; but pray let us see their righteousness *first*. Should it become *overproof*, it will be time enough for us to apply the proper remedy."

Christ has perfectly fulfilled the law for man, so as to take away the curse of it from bearing upon him; and, moreover, by his death, provided for him a claim to eternal life; it should be at all times remembered, that Christ still has left man, under grace, to fulfil the divine law for himself, so far as the conditions of the Gospel covenant require that it should be fulfilled by him. So that although Christ has fulfilled the law for man in that way, in which man was unable to fulfil it for himself, yet he has not fulfilled it in that way, in which redeemed man, under divine grace, is expected to fulfil it. One great object of Christ's giving himself for man being, as we have been assured by an inspired Apostle, and it has been above observed, "that he might purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." And to this end, as we are informed by the same Apostle, was "all Scripture given by inspiration of God, that the Christian, or man of God, might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

—To lighten an heavy page, I here introduce an authentic anecdote, which has struck across my mind, as not inapplicable to my present purpose.

—A young man of respectable character and correct morals, was on a visit at the house of a lady, professedly of the high Calvinistic persuasion; so much so, that, one day being at table with her children on each side, and her husband at the

bottom, by whom this young man was placed, she said in a paroxysm of religious fervour, "Alas, my husband and children are irrecoverably lost; but as for that young man, I have some hopes of him, I think he may be saved. As for myself, I am as sure of being in Heaven, as if I was actually there at present." Possessed with such an idea in favour of the young man in question, it was to be expected that she should not be wanting in her endeavours to convert him; for Calvinists are almost as eager to make proselytes as Papists. The lady was consequently very desirous of introducing her *protegè* to her confessor, the Rev. Mr. TOPLADY, of the high Calvinistic school. But this, for obvious reasons, the young man repeatedly declined. He could not, however, in civility, resist the lady's earnest importunity, that he would accompany her to the lectures, which Mr. Toplady was then delivering at one of the London Churches. Here the young man had an opportunity of seeing a portrait of Calvinism at full length, which certainly did not tend to make him more in love with it than he was before. Among several discourses which he heard, one did not fail particularly to strike him. It treated of the faith of Abraham, on the well-known text, "Abraham believed the Lord, and he counted it unto him for righteousness." The young man, though no divine, thought he possessed common sense

sufficient to enable him to understand this plain passage. But no such thing. The exposition affixed to it by the preacher being, that "as the reward for Abraham's believing in God, *Christ's righteousness was imputed to him.*"

This gentleman afterwards published two octavo volumes purporting to give an history of the Church; the professed object of which was to prove, that Calvinism had been the belief of the faithful from Adam, through all successive dispensations to the present day; and that all Churches have been in unison upon this most important doctrine. Whilst the fact, it is most probable, might be, that this gentleman never opened his Bible without meeting, or at least thinking, that he espied his favourite doctrine in every page. Now there is but one remedy for such a case, which, if properly used, promises to be effectual; and it is this: could Mr. Toplady have been persuaded to lay aside the glasses that he had been accustomed to make use of, and take to others that had been more truly ground to the correct Scriptural focus, all objects would have been found reduced to their proper places, and peculiar dimensions. And here, with respect, and in perfect good humour, I take my leave of the Archdeacon of Ely.

What remains to be said on the subject of Bishop Bull may be short; for the learned Bishop stands in need of no trumpeter. But as Calvinism,

(though disguised, having been stripped of its most disgusting features,) or at least a spurious sort of divinity has been stealing into the Church of England, which we old professors are sometimes at a loss to understand; better service could not, I thought, be done to that excellent Church, than to direct the attention of the modern clergy to the sterling writings of that truly scriptural divine. However deficient, therefore, I may have been in doing justice to the character of this great man, still I shall rest satisfied, if the reader will accept this humble tribute of gratitude from an individual, who has ever considered it as one of the principal advantages attendant on his professional life, to have been placed by a gracious Providence at the feet of such a *Gamaliel* as BISHOP BULL.

THE END.

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